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NARRATIVE

OF

DON JUAN VAN HALEN'S

IMPRISONMENT

IN THE

DUNGEONS OF THE INQUISITION

AT MADRID,

AND HIS ESCAPE IN 1817 AND 1818;

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

HIS JOURNEY TO RUSSIA,

HIS CAMPAIGN WITH THE ARMY OF THE CAUCASUS,

AND HIS RETURN TO SPAIN IN 1821.

EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL SPANISH MANUSCRIPT,

BY THE AUTHOR OF

"DON ESTEBAN" AND "SANDOVAL."

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

In bringing the present work before the public, the Editor begs leave to observe, that the original manuscript from which the Narrative is drawn, has for its ground-work the copious notes taken by Don Juan Van Halen at the time of his trials; and that its details are further authenticated by letters, official documents, and other papers now in the author's possession. All of these the Editor has carefully examined, and compared with the written and oral accounts of some of those gentlemen who have acted a part in the scenes described, especially in the first part of this work, to the truth of which in every particular they cordially join in bearing testimony.

Some of the documents alluded to, the Editor has thought proper to introduce in the notes appended to the Narrative, not because he thinks they can add greater weight to statements which on their very face bear the stamp of truth and impartiality; but because he wishes to leave no weapons in the hands of a critic from whom he has experienced a treatment unwarranted either by the laws of criticism, the rules of good breeding, or the precepts of moral rectitude.

With respect to the work itself, it is composed of two parts, unconnected in subject with, though naturally following, each other. The first part is interesting, not only because it relates the adventures and sufferings of a man on whose destruction many powerful enemies were bent, and who succeeded in

making his escape in a manner partaking of romance; but because it offers a true picture of the times, and of the character of modern inquisitors, whose sanguinary and revengeful spirit, when we take into account the softened manners of the age, yields in nothing to that which roused the barbarous and remorseless Torquemada and his fanatical associates to the horrible deeds they perpetrated. The second part is also interesting on more than one account; first, as treating of a country little known, and which few have had a better opportunity of examining than the author; and secondly, as disclosing some of the resources of an empire whose influence is as baneful in Europe as it is beneficial in Asia.

Of this, however, the public are to be the judges; and the Editor willingly leaves it to the decision of those readers from whom he has himself experienced more than one favour.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

DURING the space of nine years that have elapsed since my escape from the dungeons of the Inquisition of Madrid, I have, for reasons which I shall briefly explain, endured in silence the obloquy that has been lavished upon me by those who are alike unacquainted with my character, the actions of my life, and the motives that have influenced my conduct.

The narrative of my misfortunes, therefore, though the more necessary to rectify the innocent errors of some and the wilful misrepresentations of others, and though written in the purest spirit of truth and impartiality, will not be viewed with very favourable feelings either by those who are inimical to the principles I advocate, or even by those who, though equally sincere with myself in the sacred cause for which we all suffer, have questioned, without first condescending to inquire into, the sincerity of my conduct, and credited facts too absurd and improbable in themselves ever to affect my tranquillity or my honour.

It is, however, not improbable that the silence I have hitherto observed may have confirmed some in their unjust suspicions; but as it was dictated both by friendship and prudence. the sacrifice of my feelings became an imperative duty. Had I published these memoirs on my first arrival in England, the disclosures they contain would undoubtedly have led to the ruin not only of the patriots, who after my escape still remained in the dungeons of the Inquisition, but of those generous friends by whose efforts I ultimately succeeded in evading the pursuit of our merciless enemies. Nor was the period of my return

to Spain better adapted to give to the world details which, by awakening resentments, would have marred those feelings of general reconciliation that constitute the proudest feature of our bloodless though unsuccessful revolution.

Since that time, however, the events in which I was concerned having been more or less correctly stated in various publications, and the names of the individuals who shared in them revealed, the necessity for withholding from the public the following Narrative has therefore ceased. The same circumstance encouraging me to hope that the details of those occurrences are not unworthy the attention of the public, and feeling that I owe this tribute as much to the history of our times as to myself, I venture, now that the inactivity of an exile's life leaves considerable leisure on my hands, to offer these pages to the world; and though I do it with feelings of diffidence, it is not without a hope that the impartial reader will overlook the imperfections that may be found in the work, and grant me his indulgence.

JUAN VAN HALEN.

London, 1827.

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NARRATIVE

OF

DON JUAN VAN HALEN.

CHAPTER I.

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I was born in the isle of Leon, in Spain, on the 16th of February, 1790. At that time my father, who is a native of Cadiz, and of Belgic origin, was still serving with distinction in the Spanish navy, in which he had been engaged, during several years of active service, in most of the naval combats of his time, and had received many honourable wounds. My mother, to whom he has always been most tenderly attached, is of an ancient Spanish family.

I was sent, while very young, to the naval college, where, in the short space of fourteen months, I successfully underwent all my public examinations; in consequence of which I was immediately embarked on board a frigate, and, at the age of sixteen, had made two naval expeditions, the last of which was the memorable one that terminated at Trafalgar. Promoted at that period to the rank of lieutenant, I obtained the command of a gun-boat belonging to the flotilla of Malaga, in which service I was wounded. In the year 1807, being included in the number of those subalterns who were to be employed in the Admiralty-office, I proceeded to Madrid.

I still occupied this post in the capital at the time of Napoleon's invasion, which took place in the following year; and, sharing in the

noble indignation manifested by the people of Madrid on the memorable 2nd of May, I fought against our invaders till a dangerous wound arrested my efforts.

Obliged to leave Madrid on the same day to avoid being shot, as was the fate of so many of my countrymen, I joined the army of Galicia, commanded by General Blake, and was employed under his immediate orders, till after the battle of Corunna, when Marshal Soult, laying siege to Ferrol, which was garrisoned by a few troops who had taken refuge there after that battle, obliged them to capitulate. By virtue of the second article of the capitulation, the generals and all the garrison (among whom I was one) were to take the oath of submission to King Joseph, and be restored to the situations they held previous to the invasion. For my part, sincerely believing that the time for resistance had passed, and that no efforts, however heroic, could ever prove successful against the victorious arms of our invader, nor prevent his usurpation, I readily submitted to take the oath required of me, still hoping to be more useful to my country by remaining on its soil, than by laying down my arms, and spending my life in captivity. I therefore proceeded to Madrid, which was the place of my destination.

My father, who had followed the national government as chief of one of the offices of the naval department, had just been taken prisoner by the French, and conducted to Madrid, where I met him in the most pitiable condition, suffering much from his former wounds, and barely possessing the means of subsistence. Some men, who by their rank, talents, and established reputation, served as models to others in these delicate conjunctures, and who were greatly distinguished by King Joseph, interesting themselves in my father's welfare, used their influence to have me placed in the military suite of Joseph, as an officer of ordinance; a post which I accepted without the least hesitation, persuaded that I should thus be in a situation to relieve my family, and avoid being employed in a hostile manner against my countrymen.

Ever faithful to my engagements, I adhered to the cause I had espoused, not only during its prosperity, but followed Joseph in his bad fortunes to France; where, however, I saw myself abandoned by him in a manner no less unkind than unmerited.*

Whilst I was living retiredly at Bordeaux in 1813, I received the decree just issued by the Regency, in which most of the Spaniards who had espoused the cause of Joseph, and taken refuge in France, were invited to return to the bosom of their families, promising the oblivion of the past, and whatever recompences their future services to their country might entitle them to. This was what I most anxiously desired. The flattering hopes, which I had hitherto entertained, of seeing my country freed from the fanatical and oppressive

* See note A.

yoke which had so long weighed on it by the only means it could be accomplished, namely, a change of dynasty,—were fast vanishing; and I now plainly perceived how impossible it was for us to possess an independent king in the person of Joseph, whose authority was disregarded even by those who were sent to support it. Moreover, as he had withdrawn to live privately at a country seat in France, (now threatened by the allies with an invasion,) and as his power in Spain had entirely ceased, nor was it likely he would ever be able to recover it, my engagements with him were at an end. I refused all the proposals made to me in Paris to enter into the service of France, in the guards of honour that were then organizing to reinforce those in Germany; and since the Spanish government, with no less wisdom than generosity, endeavoured to unite all parties by opening the gates of reconciliation, I resolved to return to my country, and devote to it my services. I therefore demanded of the French minister of war a passport to proceed to Barcelona, where Marshal Suchet had his head-quarters, still under my former character of officer in the service of Joseph; and on my arrival at Bordeaux I wrote to the Spanish government, through the medium of some persons of note, announcing my resolution.

Four days after my arrival at Barcelona, I received a letter from the second commander-in-chief of the national army in Catalonia, in which he informed me that the government having received my letter did not oppose any obstacle to my return, at the same time strongly advising me to do some essential service that should prove the sincerity of my declarations. For a long time I vainly endeavoured to devise the means to accomplish this, till at last it struck me that some important service might be rendered to the country by procuring a copy of the French general-in-chief's seal, to obtain which I had many obstacles to surmount, especially as it was never intrusted to me. Having this seal at length in my power, I concerted with the national troops the hour of my departure from Barcelona, which took place forty-six days after my arrival there, and joined them without difficulty.

The seal having been examined and compared with those found on the intercepted letters of Marshal Suchet, a plan was formed, at a meeting of the generals, to effect, by means of supposed orders and capitulations, the evacuation of the fortified places occupied by the French on the other side of the Llobregat, on the ramparts of which waved a standard which had never been mine. The general with whom I had communicated was appointed to superintend the execution of this plan, and a drawing-master of the college of Reus counterfeited all the signatures; whilst I dressed in the French uniform, and passing for an aide-de-camp of Marshal Suchet, though unknown to any of the French generals with whom I was to treat, presented myself before all the strong places, and especially within the glacis of the fortress of Lerida, as a negotiator and the bearer of orders to the governor to evacuate it immediately with his troops.

Such an undertaking was no less arduous than perilous in its execution; but success crowned my efforts, and Lerida, Mequinenza, and Monzon, were restored to the nation. This stratagem, without endangering any other life than my own, or causing a single drop of blood to be shed, answered even beyond my most sanguine expectations, and produced results, the importance of which was fully proved by subsequent events. The French garrisons of the above-mentioned places, expecting to join their army, having arrived after four days' march at a narrow defile, were enveloped by superior forces, and obliged to lay down their arms. I followed the national troops in their march as a private soldier in the files of the regiment of cuirassiers of Catalonia, who, like the rest of the troops and commanders, witnessed the decision with which I acted in behalf of the independence of my country.

The general-in-chief, in acknowledgment of my services, resolved that I should proceed to Madrid in the company of one of his aide-de-camps, to be presented to the government.

On my arrival at the capital, I found that the gazette of the government had already announced to the public those events, saying among other things, when speaking of me: "This is a young Spaniard, who, in the first days of our sacred struggle, acted the part of a true patriot, and has now confirmed the innate sentiments of such by exposing his life to the greatest dangers in behalf of his country, and in vindication of his opinions."*

The Cortes, on being informed of those details, unanimously reinstated me in my rights of citizen, and recommended me to the government in the most flattering terms, concluding with these words: "and that Van Halen may continue to give days of glory and satisfaction to his country."†

The regency, in promoting me to the rank of captain, said in their brevet: "In reward of your extraordinary merit, and of the important service you have rendered to the country, in reconquering from the enemy the strong places of Lerida, Mequinenza, and Monzon."‡

I have here presented the above expressions of approbation, not with the view to make a vain and ostentatious display of any merits I may have had, but because they not only offer the summary of all the details with which I might occupy the attention of the reader in giving anecdotes and disclosing secrets, (which discretion and delicacy also forbid,) but because they far exceed all that the most outrageous vanity could ever prompt me to say in favour of myself during this first period of my political existence.

Sent immediately after by the government to the army of Catalonia, I served under the immediate orders of the general-in-chief till the end of the campaign.

* See the extraordinary gazette of the Regency, of February 20th, 1814. No. 24.
† See the Journal of the Cortes, sitting of the 19th of March, 1814.
‡ Royal commission of the 22nd of March, 1814.

Here commences a new epoch, which, being the precursor of the great calamities that have since distracted my unhappy country, appears to me deserving of notice.

Ferdinand had just been restored to the nation. Our division was the first that received him on the frontier. Every true Spaniard, on seeing him appear on our side of the Pyrenees, hoped that, during his long captivity, he would have learned something from experience, and that, grateful for the immense sacrifices they had made in his behalf, he would act the part of a father to his people. Vain expectations! Ferdinand suffered himself to be ruled by men who had done little or nothing for their country. Regardless of the heroism of those by whom he had just been rescued, he signalized his entry into the capital by trampling upon the sacred code which had been sanctioned by all the European monarchs, and which was certainly entitled to his oath. Perfidious as he was ungrateful, he solemnly promised what he never performed,* and betrayed those whom he had before flattered. Thus, the faithful representatives of their country, and his most distinguished defenders, were thrown into dungeons; religious and political fanaticism was re-established in all its vigour; and the destiny of a nation, whose generosity was only equalled by its misfortune, placed at the mercy of the Holy Office.

Such a base victory, purchased by treachery and ingratitude, and proclaimed upon the scaffold, involved in its consequences a great number of illustrious victims, and endangered the safety of every patriot. Their intimate union, therefore, was indispensable; and in these calamitous circumstances the utmost disinterestedness, secrecy, mutual intelligence, and unanimity, became necessary. The common danger consolidated their association; a sacred oath united them; and the *secret societies* were established under the masonic forms for an object purely political, namely, "To support a ministry, or any body of men, who should endeavour to persuade the King to fulfil his royal decree of the 4th of May, in which he promised to establish a representative government in conformity with the ideas of the age." Such was the basis of this association.

From that time there existed in Spain two parties, who were not yet so inveterate against each other but that the wisdom of a prudent monarch might have succeeded in reconciling them; yet, as it was, they offered a most striking contrast.

On one hand appeared the tribunal of blood, known by the name of the Holy Office, which has always been the most atrocious instrument of tyranny,—making victims or slaves of those who acknowledge as their Father the same God of mercy, proclaiming in the name of Jesus Christ the most revolting impieties, and sanctioning by their detestable conduct the sanguinary deeds which have for

* See the royal decree of the 4th of May, 1814.

ever rendered hateful the memory of the Ferdinands and the Philips. Upon this foundation arose in 1814 (as soon as they saw themselves masters of the King's mind,) the faction entitled *Apostolical, or of the Faith.* To it adhered with hypocritical zeal, and to the derision of the people, a great number of courtiers and public functionaries, all the communities of monks, and, lastly, that selfish class of men who wished to enjoy the comforts of life at the expense of the most laborious part of the nation, in default of a wise administration.

On the other hand, the close ties which united the patriotic men, who were resolved to perish or save the country, were daily increasing. Granada, towards the latter end of 1815, was the cradle of the association, and on the following year every city in Spain could boast of having a society; such being the unanimous impulse by which they were all actuated. Many persons, civil, ecclesiastical, and military, eminent for their rank and talents, who, at first intimidated by the violent proceedings of the ruling faction, had not dared to declare their intentions, awoke from their lethargy, and, sensible of the duties they owed to their outraged country, joined the association, inspiring them with the hope of soon seeing an end put to their calamities.

The military youth, for the most part generous and intrepid, hastened to offer at the altar of their country the noblest sacrifices; and the army, so frequently the scourge of the people, began from that moment to see among their files and at their head, the heroic chieftains who were to lead them to the temple of true glory.

The unmerited death of the deeply lamented Porlier, who, like so many others, fell a victim to the hatred of our oppressors, far from intimidating these patriots in their generous efforts, rendered them more resolute; so that, even previous to the treacherous death inflicted on the illustrious General Lacy, we every moment saw new victims sacrificed, and fresh avengers arise in their places.

Notwithstanding this, I may safely assert that the Spanish character is not the best adapted for any kind of conspiracy. If bearing patiently unmerited misfortunes be considered as a virtue, no nation in Europe can boast of possessing a greater share of it, and scarcely any can look upon the regicide with greater horror. History proves the Spaniards to be the people who have committed the fewest outrages on the persons of their monarchs. The insurrections and revolutions of our country have always been provoked either by the intolerable abuses of our kings, or by the arbitrary and barbarous measures of inquisitors.

From the moment that Ferdinand's despotism began, I was among the first to experience its rigours. I shall now proceed to the narrative of my misfortunes.

CHAPTER II.

Spanish corps destined for South America—The author visits his parents at Madrid—He commands a troop of dragoons at Jaen in Andalusia—General O'Donoju—The author, visiting the family Perez, is arrested by his Colonel—Generous conduct of this officer—The author is conducted to the castle of Marvella near Malaga—Sinister presages of the Commandant—Visit of two friars—Extreme danger—Removal to Malaga—Count Montijo—Don Gonzalo Arostegui—The author owes his life to them—Copy of the royal order for his military execution—Montijo is in favour with the King—The King appears to have been ignorant of the contents of the royal order—The new governor of Malaga—Promulgation of his innocence—He receives the commission of Lieutenant Colonel.

At the general peace the Spanish army was divided into two bodies, one of which, composed of those battalions that had not received their licenses, quitted the frontiers of France to encamp in the environs of Cadiz, to be eventually embarked for South America; and the other, which was not so well organized, took its cantonments in the interior. Among the latter were some squadrons of light-horse, in which I commanded a company. On the way to our place of destination we passed through the capital, where I obtained leave to remain for a short time with my family.

Madrid was then the theatre of all the disorders of the new government, and the prisons were crowded with the deputies and constitutional authorities. During the few days I remained there, I employed most of my time in visiting many of the illustrious prisoners, this being the only consolation I was able to afford them.

The city of Jaen, capital of the province of the same name, being the place of cantonment appointed for my regiment, I proceeded thither. From the first of my arrival, I visited at the house of one of the most respectable families of this city of the name of Perez, the head of which, an enlightened old man, had rendered himself an object of general esteem by his strenuous endeavours to encourage and improve agriculture. On the 8th of December, 1815, whilst the public mind still continued in a state of alarm on account of the numerous imprisonments of persons of distinction, among whom was General O'Donoju, who had filled the post of minister of war in the time of the Cortes, and to whom I was indebted for many marks of favour, I received an invitation from Perez to attend a family festival which they usually held on the above day. On my arrival there, I found a numerous company assembled, with whom I sat down to dinner in the best spirits, when, soon after, I was informed that my servant wished to speak with me, and learned from him that the colonel and an adjutant of my regiment, having presented themselves at my lodgings, and not finding me at home, had

commanded him to seek me, desiring my immediate appearance. The guests attributed this sudden call to mere matters of duty, and they all continued enjoying the hilarity of the day.

On entering my apartment, I found my colonel and the adjutant waiting for me, when the former addressed me in these words: "I am very sorry to be the bearer of such disagreeable news as I have to impart to you. I have just received a royal order, transmitted to me by the inspector of cavalry, to place you under arrest and seize all your papers. Agreeable to these commands, you will accompany the adjutant to the place that is prepared for you."

I offered no reply to this, as any remark was useless to one who did nothing but obey orders: besides, I had no suspicion that the matter could be of any great importance. The only thing that could raise any anxiety in my mind was the arrest of the persons above indicated, and the well-known despotism of the government. I therefore followed the adjutant to the guard-room of the barracks of my regiment, where I remained with an officer and a sentry at sight. I was then informed that I might see any of my acquaintances, provided they first obtained permission from the proper authority, with various other requisites equally restrictive and molesting.

The least timid of my friends profited by this permission to keep me company, and enliven the tedium of my confinement; but their wild conjectures only contributed to increase the confusion of my own. In this state I remained for the space of nineteen days, when on the night of the 27th the colonel, Don Agustin de Hore, came to inform me that on the following day I was to set off for a castle on the coast of Malaga. The countenance of this chief betraying some emotion as he spoke, I ventured to ask him what could be the motive of such enigmatical dispositions. He then explained to me that the commandant-at-arms had that afternoon received a direct order from the ministry, couched in very severe language, for my immediate removal to the castle of Marvella with a strong escort; adding that, under these circumstances, the only service he could render me was permitting me to name the officer who was to command it, and placing his purse at my disposal should I stand in need of any pecuniary assistance. I expressed my gratitude to him for this kind offer, and mentioned the name of the officer who was most agreeable to me; after which he informed me that he had destroyed some papers of mine which he thought might be sinisterly interpreted by the government, and, kindly pressing my hand, quitted the room greatly affected. This noble conduct on the part of this chief was the more commendable as we had not been on the best terms for some months.

On the afternoon of the following day I commenced my journey, surrounded by an escort of thirty horsemen, and in the presence of an inquisitive populace, as usual in similar cases. We excited as much curiosity among the villagers in the places through which we

passed and sojourned, during the four days employed in reaching our destination. An old friend, whom I met on the way, offered me the most secure means of escape to Gibraltar, which was within a short distance; but neither the good faith which the officer responsible for my person reposed in me, nor the attachment I had for him, nor the nature of my compromise, I thought, permitted me to avail myself of such an offer. We entered Marvella on the 22nd, at ten o'clock in the morning.

The castle of Marvella, which overlooks the strand, although almost demolished in the last war with the French, and hardly offering any shelter, had nevertheless a titular governor, who was an old retired officer, a narrow-minded man, and severe in the discharge of his functions. To him the officer of my escort had orders to deliver me; but as the royal order of which the colonel spoke had already reached him, he was so well prepared to receive me, that a few minutes after our arrival at the town I found myself in one of the rooms of the town-house, with a numerous guard of infantry, two sentries at sight, and an officer strictly charged with allowing no communication to be held with me. This silence was interrupted in the afternoon by the entrance of the governor accompanied by two friars, whom, as he himself expressed it, "he had taken the liberty to bring, that they might console me in the awful situation in which I stood;" adding that, "I ought to discharge the weight of my conscience in the bosoms of those holy men, and avail myself of the few moments that perhaps remained to me."

It is impossible to express the astonishment I felt at hearing these words. In the first impulse of my surprise, I do not remember what I said to him. All I know is, that, shortly after, the three disappeared, that the vigilance with which I was guarded was redoubled, and that the loud murmur of a populace, the more eager for novelty as the means to gratify it were fewer, contributed to render these hours some of the most unpleasant of my life.

Towards the close of this harassing day, noise of whips and trampling of horses was heard, when soon after an officer presented himself in the room, and drawing out a paper which he showed to the officer on guard, who immediately departed, seated himself by the bed on which I was reclining, and with a countenance expressive of satisfaction, though with a degree of mystery, disclosed to me the mission with which he was intrusted. "Doubtless," said he, "you are at this moment much alarmed at your situation; but make yourself easy, for though you may hitherto have been, I may say, *en capilla* (in the condemned cell), I come with an escort to conduct you to Malaga, where both the governor and the captain-general are expecting you, to serve you in this emergency."

I replied that I could not conceive how, without an accusation, without declarations, without a verbal process, without a court-martial, or a sentence passed or even read to me, I could be in the con-

demned cell; to which he said that he was obliged to omit an explanation of it, that I myself might hear it from the mouth of the military authority of Malaga; adding that the effervescence of the people was very great, as the friars had taken all possible pains to excite them against me, and that the events of the day required that our departure should take place in the dead of night.

Although, doubtless, the people guessed what was in contemplation, and still remained, though in less numbers, at midnight in the square before the town-house where I was confined, the piquet of cavalry assembled there, and at one o'clock the above-mentioned officer came to warn me of our departure, for which he took every necessary precaution; so that we left Marvella without my seeing any thing more of the governor, accompanied by the dragoons who formed the escort, and who were obliged to fight their way through a multitude of misled fanatics, whose purpose was to assassinate me, and who might have caused me some injury had it not been for the obscurity of the night.

On the afternoon of the 25th we arrived within sight of Malaga; but the officer of the escort had orders not to enter the city with me until it was dark. Accordingly it was eight o'clock before we arrived at the house of the captain-general of the province, the Count of Montijo, who by a fortunate chance was then in that city. We found him in his study with the governor, the brigade-general Don Gonzalo Arostegui.* They both closeted themselves with me, when Montijo asked what was the cause assigned for my being taken to Marvella. I answered that I was perfectly ignorant of it, and gave them an account of what had happened to me from the moment of my arrest until my leaving Marvella. Count Montijo, drawing a paper from his escritoire, then said to me: "This will explain it: read, and do not be alarmed; for both the Governor and myself know our duty."

I read the paper, which was the royal order issued against me, the substance of which was as follows:—"It is his Majesty's pleasure that the captain of cavalry of the regiment of chasseurs of Madrid, Don Juan Van Halen, arrested at Jaen by a royal order, and implicated in various subversive plans, and especially in the horrible conspiracy lately discovered against the precious life of his Majesty, be conducted to the castle of Marvella; and it is farther his royal will that the said Van Halen be shot immediately on his arrival, without allowing him more time than is absolutely necessary to make his peace with Heaven, giving a full account of the same to his Majesty, &c. &c."

On my returning this extraordinary document to Montijo, he told me that I was at liberty to select any lodging I pleased in the city,

* This gentleman is now living in the Havanah, his native country, and to him I certainly owe my life.

where I should remain perfectly unmolested in the company of an officer. "I shall return," he added, "in the course of a few days to Granada, where you will follow me; and there I hope I shall shortly receive an answer to the express I sent yesterday to his Majesty. Make yourself easy; take your repose, and let us meet again to-morrow."

I obeyed, and withdrew to take that rest of which I stood so much in need, but which it was impossible for me to enjoy in my present state of agitation.

Count Montijo, captain-general of the province of Granada, was still at this time one of the favourites of the monarch. Being on terms of familiarity with him, and perfectly sincere in this affair, and having, moreover, a great deference for the opinions of General Arostegui, whose liberal ideas and rectitude of conduct rendered him an object of general esteem, he had agreed to do every thing in his power to avoid the scandal which must have resulted from the atrocious deed that was intended to be perpetrated on my person. Trusting, therefore, to the influence which he still exerted over the King's mind, he wrote privately to him, making an appeal to his feelings, and painting the horrible nature of this attempt in its true colours. It appears that the authors of these orders in the ministry had not only assumed the name of the King, but also omitted registering the decree issued, as is invariably done with every official document. They had moreover sent direct orders to the governor of Marvella, who, being but a subaltern, was necessarily under the immediate command of the higher authorities of the province. Such conduct, therefore, was contrary to all the established rules of military etiquette, and likely to excite the suspicions of Count Montijo and of General Arostegui, as did actually happen. On the other hand, the private letters received by Count Montijo from Madrid, relative to the proceedings of the last got-up conspiracy, said not a word by which I might be implicated in it. It was on this account that this nobleman did not hesitate to take upon himself the responsibility of this affair, without even placing any other guard over me than that afforded by my word of honour.

Meantime he had caused a report to be circulated respecting this affair, by which he made it appear as a thing of no importance, which had originated in an error of the ministry. On his departure for Granada, I followed him equally free from all restraint, and immediately on his arrival there, he sent an officer of dragoons to the chiefs of Jaen to request copies of the orders by which they had proceeded against me. During this interval, the express sent to Madrid by the count returned with an answer to his letter, which he showed me, and in which his Majesty said that, on learning the events imparted to him by the count, he had felt greatly surprised at orders given without his knowledge, of which not even a copy was found in the offices of the ministry; that he approved of all the

proceedings of the count; and that he authorized him to set me at liberty, delivering to me a passport to rejoin my regiment.

If the denouement of this affair should appear extraordinary, it would have been still more so had I submitted to present myself at my quarters with such an insignificant passport, when I was so sure of my innocence. Consequently, I begged the count to allow me to write to his Majesty through his medium; and I represented to the King that my honour was so greatly compromised in consequence of the mysterious occurrences which had taken place, that it was impossible for me to present myself before my regiment without having first received an ample avowal of my innocence, concluding by entreating that his Majesty might be pleased to allow me to reside at Malaga until justice had been done me. Meantime I obtained this permission from Count Montijo.

On my arrival there, I found that the Governor Arostegui had just been deposed, and his office was now filled by a chief against whose whims I had more than once to contend, and who was as unfit for his post as his subaltern the governor of Marvella. The choice of Malaga, therefore, as my place of residence was not a very happy one, and I was compelled to remain there till Count Montijo, by repeated applications, obtained a royal order from his Majesty which was to be circulated in all the divisions of the army, by which my innocence was proclaimed. A few days after, the inspector of cavalry announced to me officially that his Majesty had, by special decree, been pleased to promote me to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, the brevet of which would be delivered to me on joining my regiment.

CHAPTER III.

The author obtains leave of absence—He engages in the views of the *Liberales*—Repairs to Murcia—Power of the priests in that city—Vanity of the nobles—Family Pedigrees—Buildings of the Holy Office—Ostolaza—His infamy—Ill-conducted Institutions—Mulberry-trees of Murcia—Ignorance of the priests—Religious procession—Elio, captain-general of Valencia—Silks of Murcia—Romero Alpuente—General Torrijos—Garay, the minister—Ronda—Don Antonio Calvo—Secret negotiations—Calvo's treacherous endeavours to obtain information discovered—Medal—Don Ignacio Irriberry—The author's papers are seized—Fidelity of his servants—The author is arrested—He is carried to the Inquisition.

The insidious means resorted to by the faction that swayed the mind of the monarch, could not succeed in seducing the enlightened and virtuous men who knew the duties they owed to their country, neither could their corrupting manœuvres triumph over *every* Spaniard; hence, in the midst of the most frightful persecutions and disasters, a temple was raised to liberty. My late misfortunes contributed to make me feel its existence, and with the most sincere

heart did I offer in June 1816 to sacrifice to it my repose and my life. Under the pretext of re-establishing my health, which through the past events had been much shaken, I solicited and obtained from the government four months' leave of absence, to take the mineral waters in the centre of Andalusia.

After spending some time there, I visited several cities, and did all that was in my power to unite the different secret societies that were scattered over the province. Among these, that of Cadiz was remarkable for the respectable persons who composed it. At the expiration of the term granted me, I passed, in my way to Murcia, which was the place of cantonment just assigned to my regiment, through Granada, at that time the great nucleus of our rising association. My friends here, satisfied with my labours, authorized me to continue them in the district of my new residence, and I rejoined my regiment a few days after.

Murcia is assuredly one of the towns, in the interior of Spain, most backward in point of civilization. It can no more be placed on a parallel with Barcelona, Malaga, Cadiz, or Bilboa, than Morocco with St. Petersburgh. I shall here present the reader with a slight sketch of the state in which I found that city on my arrival there.

Situated in the midst of a rich and fertile country, and enjoying one of the finest climates, Murcia is one of the towns where the clerical power rises in all its pride, and shares the blessings of the land with a badly educated nobility, whose ignorance can be equalled only by their vanity.

A few days after my arrival at that city, I was invited to a ball given by the latter to celebrate Easter Sunday. The etiquette that preceded the invitations, the informations taken respecting the rank and character of the guests, and the researches made into their pedigrees, as well as the arms that adorned the front of the house destined for the festival, all seemed to promise the greatest magnificence. The whole orchestra, however, consisted of two blind fiddlers, whom I had the same day met playing in the streets; and the refreshments were in perfect unison with the music; a few pitchers of water, served by two servants clothed in old liveries, being all that the munificence of the Murcian nobility could afford. In contemplating this scene, I could not but repeat to myself the old Spanish proverb, which says, *vanidad y pobreza, todo en una pieza.*

The edifice of the Inquisition had so much suffered during the war of independence that it lay almost in ruins; but such was the influence of the monks there, that they had succeeded in laying the foundations of a new one, larger and more sumptuous than the former, in spite of the public misery, and of the nakedness of the badly-paid military, who, in bringing to mind their late toils and triumphs, looked on the erection of a monument of barbarity and oppression with the most marked indignation.

A dignitary of the cathedral of Murcia, by name Ostolaza, formerly confessor of the King and the royal family, well known in Spain for the immorality of his public and private conduct, had, under the pretext of taking under his protection the charitable institution of the orphan girls, transformed it into a harem, where he abandoned himself to all kinds of excesses. The details of the horrible conduct of that wretch are too disgusting to hold a place in these pages.

Another benevolent institution, the seminary for boys, supported from its foundation by the treasures of the chapter, was in such a neglected state, that it might be considered rather as the school of ignorance and folly than as a place of public instruction. This neglect in the clergy, however, did not extend to their own interests: for no sooner were the millions of mulberry-trees which adorn the numberless gardens of that beautiful part of the country known by the name of *Huerta de Murcia*, in full bloom, than they laid their great white cross on the most promising for the payment of the tithe. Ever ready to impose upon the credulity of the unfortunate husbandman, and keep him subject to its influence, the church of Murcia preserved, in the teeth of the knowledge of our age, the absurd custom of making an annual solemn procession with the object of bringing down rain from the clouds, which, at all seasons, is so scarce and necessary in that country. The miraculous image of this procession was brought from a hermitage to the cathedral, where it was left for a certain time; but the members who composed the chapter having evinced some longings to get it into their possession, the monks to whom the image belonged, suspecting their intention, would never deliver it into their hands without first obtaining a legal document, and a guarantee to prevent any attempt of the kind. Some clauses of the document were so truly absurd that, had it not been known to be the work of the priests themselves, any one might have taken it for that of some wag who wished to throw ridicule on their proceedings.

On the other hand, the subaltern priests, in order to second those impositions, took great care to keep alive the ancient custom of making a *rosary*, or a procession known by the name of *the Dawn*, which was celebrated every Sunday, soon after midnight. As this was not the most convenient hour for the parish priests to preside over it, the procession consisted only of a crowd of vagabonds, who ran about the streets howling in the most frightful manner, and getting drunk at every public-house they met in their way, the money spent in those riots being often at the expense of our lady of the Dawn; for notwithstanding the vigilance of the parish clerks, that troop of raggamuffins, favoured with the obscurity of night, robbed the cases that contained the offerings made to the Virgin.

General Elio was at that time the captain-general of the two provinces of Valencia and Murcia, and all the governors under his

command were his creatures. The tyrannical conduct of that man is too notorious to render it necessary for me to say any thing respecting him. The forces of the province of Malaga consisted of the regiment of infantry Lorena, commanded by the brigade-general Torrijos, three battalions of which composed the garrisons of Alicante, Carthagena, and Murcia; and there was another detachment of troops at Origuela, besides the small number of cavalry that formed the skeleton of my regiment, who, as I have already observed, were at Murcia. Our former colonel, Hore, had quitted the regiment, disgusted at the state in which it was kept; and we had for chief a military of the old régime, as eccentric as he was ignorant, and whose presence invariably excited the laughter of the soldiers.

Such was, at the time of my arrival, the state of a province which under a wise and protecting government might, by the abundance and quality of its silks, have been rendered one of the richest in Europe.

Amidst so many impediments as Murcia presented, the society we were able to form consisted only of the venerable magistrate and illustrious patriot, Romero Alpuente, the brigade-general Torrijos, and a few officers of his regiment and of my own. Our union, however, became the closer as our circle was the more contracted. With the view to second the intended rising of Catalonia, at the head of which was General Lacy, I made some journeys to Alicante and Carthagena to establish there some new societies; but when the forces of our province were ready to act in unison with those of Catalonia, the melancholy news of the imprisonment of General Lacy reached us.

The army, who well knew the virtues of that distinguished general, far from being intimidated at these reverses, increased their efforts; and in 1817 the secret authority of Granada was transferred to Madrid, precisely at the time when the system of the celebrated minister Garay seemed to need a powerful support, to obtain by what the advocates of legitimacy call *the legitimate means*, (that is to say, by the King's own intimate persuasion,) that which the cry of the people caused him at last to grant.

Shortly after General Lacy's assassination, the brigade general Torrijos received an anonymous letter, dated from Gibraltar, the handwriting of which, however, was known to him, and in which the writer requested to be informed what part Torrijos would take, in the event of some well-intentioned men declaring themselves for the good cause; adding, that his friends expected, from the frankness of his character, a sincere answer to the above question; but that whatever might be his final resolution, they fully relied on his discretion. The letter concluded by appointing a place of meeting.

At the time of receiving this letter, Torrijos was residing at Carthagena, from which place, owing to the duties of his station, it was

impossible for him to absent himself in order to attend the appointed interview; consequently he intrusted this affair to me, desiring that I would visit the place of meeting. This was near Gibraltar, and as the greatest secrecy was necessary to avoid compromising any one, I left Murcia, after obtaining from the colonel leave of absence for fifteen days, without taking with me a servant or a witness of any kind, except a Danish dog who followed me every where.

On my way to the place of conference, I stopped at the village of Velez Rubio to take some repose, and refresh my horse. I had received from one of my friends at Murcia letters of recommendation for two gentlemen who resided in this place: the one was Don Antonio Calvo, chief of the customs; and the other, Don Francisco Benavente, mayor of that district, and a rich proprietor of that country, at whose house I alighted. As I had been given to understand that I might freely express my sentiments in their company, and as I seldom lost an opportunity of increasing the number of our friends, I did not hesitate in touching upon the wretched situation of the nation, and holding out a hope, founded upon good grounds, that our evils would soon be at an end. Finding that they entered into my feelings, I partly initiated them into the secret, concealing, however, in conformity to our regulations, the formal existence of any society.

At dawn of the following day I parted from them, and passing through Granada, where I stopped but a few hours, I reached on the fourth day Ronda, the place where the conference was to be held. Having presented myself at the appointed spot, I waited in vain for the mysterious individual, so that I was obliged to retrace my steps back to Malaga without seeing him. Here I found that my absence had caused some disagreement among my friends, which might have led to serious results, had I not succeeded in quelling them. A good understanding being thus established, the frequent meetings we were obliged to hold induced me to take a house near the barracks of my regiment, which being detached was well suited for our meetings, and in which I resided, the better to conceal our object. The officers of the regiment assembled there every day to hold their usual academical conferences on military tactics; thus by making it appear that it was destined only for objects of duty, I destroyed any suspicions that might rise in the minds of my neighbours of any clandestine meetings, and accustomed them to see it well frequented.

In the summer of that year, 1817, I received a visit from Don Antonio Calvo, who informed me of the misfortune which he had just experienced, of losing the employment he held from the government in consequence of a reform in the plan of customs, made by the minister Garay, by which he and his family were left without resources of any kind, and in the greatest distress. I was moved by the account he gave me, and as my house was sufficiently large to

accommodate him during his stay at Murcia, I offered him an apartment, and my table, which he accepted. From this moment I lost no opportunity of being useful to him, and rendering his situation as agreeable as was in my power. His object, however, being to proceed to Madrid, by way of Granada, where his family was then residing, he requested me to give him letters of recommendation for my friends of the capital, that they might assist him in obtaining an employment from the ministry, and the means to transport himself there.

During the fifteen days he remained with me, he saw at my house only two individuals; an honest jeweller called Raphael Esbri, by whom he had been introduced to me, and another countryman of his, an unfortunate young man, by name Don Serafin del Rio, of respectable parents, who, having a large family, had no means of supporting it; and whose melancholy situation I could not alleviate in any other way than by offering him my table. With respect to our nocturnal meetings, he saw nothing of them, as it so happened that a few days before his arrival we had suspended them for a time; neither did he know of their existence, as I had been careful never to disclose it to him.

A short time previous to his departure, I received a letter from Valencia, warning me of an approaching danger, though the nature of it was not explained. To avoid a surprise, however, I collected all those articles and papers which might criminate me; but not thinking it prudent to trust the latter to any friend of mine residing at Murcia, I put them into a case, which I carefully nailed and delivered to Calvo, that he might place it in the hands of our common friend the mayor of Velez Rubio, requesting him to conceal it in some secure place. As for the rest, being articles of some bulk, I deposited them where they were never discovered.

Calvo now took his departure, carrying two letters of recommendation from me; one for a captain of the militia called Rosique, and the other for a clergyman, a professor of the college of Santiago, who were then residing at Granada, and who had it in their power to serve him. His warm expressions of gratitude, on taking leave of me, confirmed me in the belief that my benefits had not been bestowed on a worthless man. We shall presently see how correct I was in my good opinion of him.

A few days after his departure, I received a letter from him dated from Granada, the contents of which were sufficiently alarming, saying among other things, "that having remarked a change in the conduct of Benavente, the mayor of Velez Rubio, who refused to take charge of my papers, and wishing to show his gratitude by something more than empty words, he had concealed them in a place where they would be perfectly secure;" adding, "that he had visited the gentlemen for whom he had carried letters; but that their offers of service being too vague to give him any hopes of

efficient aid, he had resolved to proceed to Madrid, where I might forward my letters of recommendation for him."

Two or three nights after my receiving this letter, being alone in my apartment, I heard my man-servant disputing in the kitchen with the cook. The former was an honest Asturian of about thirty, faithful, like all his countrymen; and the latter was, in my opinion, too old to excite in him feelings of jealousy that might have given rise to their present wrangling. Curious, therefore, to know the motive of their disagreement, I listened attentively, and more than once caught the name of Calvo. On a nearer approach, I heard my man-servant say:—"You have failed in your duty towards our master: had he known it, or had I seen the scoundrel there, he should have rued his villany."

The cook retorted that "her age and knowledge of the world was more than enough to enable her to get rid of such a man."

I had now heard enough to wish to know the whole, consequently I called the servant, and desired him to inform me of every thing, when I learned that while Calvo was residing at my house, profiting of an evening he remained at home alone with the cook, he had, under the pretext of making love to her, endeavoured to discover all that had passed in my house since she had first entered my service; but finding that he could learn nothing from her, he had ended by entreating her not to disclose to me any thing of what had happened between him and her. When I reproached her with having failed in her duty towards me by concealing those circumstances, she farther owned that, whenever I was absent from home, Calvo went all over the house, looking into every corner of it, and once she had found him reading and rummaging my papers; but that, seeing the kindness with which I treated him, she would not inform me of it, lest I should not have given credit to her words.

From all appearances, Calvo had visited a place in the house where I had concealed an engraved medal, bearing the allegorical figures and names of our association, which it was the intention of my friends to place secretly between the foundation stones of the Inquisition then erecting at Murcia, and which was to serve as a memorial to posterity that there existed another institution at the time when this horrible monument was raised, which strove for other objects than the extinction of knowledge and civilization.

My alarm at hearing those facts may be easily conceived; but Don Raphael Esbri who had introduced Calvo to me, and to whom I communicated them, endeavoured to quiet my apprehensions by attributing that conduct to mere curiosity.

Calvo, on his arrival at Madrid, immediately informed me of it, again requesting letters of recommendation to all my friends, a favour which I had now a double motive for not granting; but what principally astonished me was the rapidity of his journey, as by the dates of his letters he must have travelled post. This circumstance

was sufficiently suspicious in itself, the contributions which we raised to relieve him in his distress being not so great as to permit this mode of travelling.

The 21st of September was the day appointed for my new misfortunes. Orders had been issued by the government to General Elio to have me arrested with the most severe precautions; a dungeon in the Inquisition was preparing to receive me; and Don Ignacio Irriberry, governor of Orijuela, was the person to whom the execution of those orders was intrusted. Having no confidence in the troops belonging to the regiment of Torrijos, he took a detachment of another corps, and, entering Murcia clandestinely, concerted with the inquisitors the necessary measures for my arrest.

I was in the habit of returning home early in the evening; but it happened by chance that, on the night appointed for my arrest, I had gone out at about eleven o'clock on some youthful frolic. An hour after my leaving home, the house was surrounded by soldiers, and two men enveloped in their cloaks advanced towards the door. My servant, who heard the loud and repeated knocks, appeared at the window, and was ordered by them to open the door. On his refusing to do so, they gave their names, one being the Governor Irriberry, and the other the senior inquisitor. The servant represented to them that, whatever might be their office or authority, they raised unfavourable suspicions by coming at that hour, and that, if they did not withdraw, he would compel them, at the same time showing his carabine at the window. At this sight the senior inquisitor, fearing the consequences, abandoned the field to Irriberry, who, more bold, caused some soldiers to advance, and force the door open, when he entered with his soldiers, to whom he gave orders to secure the servant and search the house. Whilst they were executing these orders, they discovered the cook in the act of leaping from a window, endeavouring to make her escape with the intention of seeking me, and warning me of the danger.

Meantime Irriberry directed his steps towards the place where I was in the habit of concealing my papers, as if he himself had been a witness to my most secret actions. Here he found a small leather box, in which I had secreted some of the papers that I did not think proper to include among those I had delivered to Calvo; after which he began to examine my drawers and trunks, putting aside whatever was not essential to his first searches; but those once open, my uniforms and every other article of dress became the prey of the soldiery.

At this time the voice of some one being heard in the street, Irriberry, thinking it was I, ordered the soldiers to secure the person, whom they discovered to be a young officer who was returning home singing. Finding that he belonged to my regiment, the governor ordered him to be confined in my chamber, to prevent my being informed of what was passing.

Impatient of my absence, which he suspected was premeditated, Irriberry incessantly questioned the servants, from whom he could learn nothing; the former answering with the same firmness he had always shown, but, without failing in his subordination to Irriberry, that it was very rarely I went out at night, and that he did not know the place where I might be found, since I was not in the habit of making confidantes of my domestics.

Meantime an unexpected accident happened in the garden where I had gone to, which would have saved me from all my subsequent misfortunes, had I but known what was passing at home, and been able to reconcile it with other feelings. The door through which I had entered the garden being shut after me, and the key mislaid by one of the servants of the house, I could not leave it otherwise than by climbing the high walls which surrounded it. In this conjuncture a place of concealment was offered me, where I might have safely remained till the following evening; but the fear of compromising the honour of a family I so much esteemed, and that of failing to attend the daily academical meetings that were held at my house, which could not but draw upon me the attention of the officers, obliged me to decline it.

It was about four o'clock in the morning when I reached my house, in which the greatest silence apparently reigned. Irriberry, who had just returned from a little excursion of which we shall speak hereafter, had learned enough to be convinced that my absence was wholly accidental, and that I should return at day-break. On my entering the house, I found both doors in the same state in which I had left them, and no sooner did I knock at the interior one, than my servant, compelled to show himself at the small window just above it, put the usual question and opened it. Scarcely had I mounted a few steps, before I found myself surrounded by soldiers whose naked bayonets were pointed at my breast, a sufficiently ridiculous assault against an unarmed man, whose whole equipment consisted of a foraging cap, and a cloak which concealed the light dress I had assumed for that night. Whilst I cast my eyes around with surprise at this multitude of soldiers, who seemed to have sprung up from the ground, Irriberry suddenly presented himself on the stairs, saying in a haughty tone, and as if he had obtained a great triumph, "I arrest you in the name of the King," adding several offensive epithets, and desiring me to follow him. He conducted me through several rooms, which offered evident signs of the pillage that had taken place, to my chamber, where I met the arrested officer, whose name was Cardon, who put unobservedly into my hand the watch which I had left hanging at the bed-head, and which he had saved from the rapacity of the soldiery.

The rude conduct of Irriberry was the more surprising to me, as this general had served in the brigade of royal carabineers, whose officers were at all times distinguished for their circumspection and

politeness. Sure of his prey, he filled the house with his vociferations, expecting to find in it considerable sums of money, destined for the great conspiracy which he boasted to have stifled. Having, at his first arrival, seized all my papers and arms, and tolerated a pillage by which I was deprived even of my uniforms, he obstinately demanded my signature to the bundle of papers which his assessor had filed for him. I very naturally refused to comply with this absurd request, as it was impossible I could acknowledge as my own the confused mass of papers which he presented to me, and which he had rummaged and read in my absence.

It was now, that I learned for the first time the fatal destiny that awaited me. The day was dawning, and Irriberry ordered in my presence the bishop's carriage to be fetched, that I might be conveyed to the Inquisition. I requested to be allowed to go on foot, to which he replied that the prisoners of the Inquisition were never accompanied there by an armed force; adding ironically, "they have always the honour to be taken there in a convenient carriage." This being now ready, I entered it accompanied by Irriberry, his assessor, and his aide-de-camp, who gave orders to some soldiers to follow the carriage on foot at a distance. Thus I lost sight of my home, my servants, my young comrades, and even of the hope of seeing again the light of day.

CHAPTER IV.

Description of the dungeon into which the author is cast—First civilities of the inquisitor—Don Serafin del Rio is also seized by Irriberry—Esbry, a jeweller, is arrested at the fair of Lorca—Castañeda the inquisitor—Conversation of the prisoners—The author petitions Ferdinand—Character of Esbry—Character of Romero Alpuente—The inquisitor anxious to have him in his custody—Castañeda unlike the severer inquisitors.

It was five o'clock when we arrived before the gates of the Inquisition. The prisons of the new tribunal, although in a forward state, and carried on with greater activity than the rest of the building, were not yet completed; consequently I was to be confined in the dungeons of the old one. Scarcely had we entered its gates, when the inquisitors and their subalterns made their appearance, and Irriberry delivered me into their hands, hinting to me that his mission was not yet terminated. The senior inquisitor then gave his orders to the jailer, who, leading the way down a flight of stairs, guided me through several subterraneous passages to my dungeon, which with four others had unfortunately survived the destruction of the principal part of the building.

These dungeons, constructed in the primitive times of the Inqui-

sition, were on a level with the river Segura, that traversed the town; so that the humidity, the cloud of gnats that entered through the narrow loop-holes with which the dungeon was partially lighted, the bench constructed of brick which served for a bed to the unhappy inmate, the chains and iron rings that hung from the walls, all contributed to render this abode the most frightful that ever met human sight. On being left alone in this place, my mind naturally recurred to the scenes of misery that these walls must have witnessed, and to the number of victims that must have sunk within this grave.

Doubtless the inquisitors had done every thing in their power to render this place as comfortable as possible, since the mattrass that was spread on the bench, the sheets and counterpane of the bed, with a little table beside it, offered a singular contrast with the rest of the dungeon.

The scenes of the morning had so much agitated me, that my blood rushed to my head, and I became insensible. This was immediately perceived by the inquisitors, who directed their familiars to apply leeches to my temples.

At one in the afternoon the doors were again opened, and the senior inquisitor entered, followed by an attendant bringing a chair. On the latter withdrawing, he sat down near my bed, and spoke in the following words: "All your papers are in my hands; we must examine them together, that you may sign an inventory. This, however, may be done to-morrow, when you will have recovered from your indisposition. A little rest, good assistance, and cleanliness, will contribute towards removing it. The apartments of the new building will be soon finished, and you will then quit this place to occupy one of the best. I am an advocate for cleanliness, and I would not have allowed in my time such places as this to be constructed. They are horrible holes.—I take a bath every day, and dine between twelve and one, after which I will come and see that you are properly attended. All my subalterns are kind people. You must not judge of our prisons by what you see. My own feelings, my education, my religion, and my experience, every thing imposes upon me the duty of acting with humanity towards those who are in your unfortunate situation. Besides, you are not altogether under my dependance; you are here only temporarily.—This morning, as I came along the streets, I met some individuals whose countenances betrayed much anxiety. You ought to know Romero Alpuente," added he, fixing his eyes steadily on mine.

"I have seen him," said I, "but I have had little acquaintance with him." He smiled incredulously, called the alcaide, and wished me a good afternoon. The doors were then shut, and I remained reflecting on the last words of the inquisitor, which gave me room to fear that they sought for fresh victims.

The inconsiderate conduct of Irriberry had enabled me to discover the origin of this persecution, who my *delator* was, and who were the unfortunate individuals involved in it.

Whilst Irriberry's soldiers were committing in my house the disorders above related, this general, confident that I could not escape him, left the house to the care of his aide-de-camp, and taking with him a party of infantry who were stationed on the bridge, proceeded with them to the house of the unfortunate Serafin del Rio, who lived in the suburbs on the other side of the river. As, long before his arrival there, Serafin and his whole family had retired to bed, it was only after repeated knocks that Irriberry succeeded in making himself heard. Madame del Rio, far from suspecting the new misfortune that awaited her, was the first to leap from her bed, and answer the new disturbers of their sleep. On discovering who they were, she hastened to impart it to her husband, who went to the window to speak to Irriberry. Irritated by this delay, the latter peremptorily ordered Serafin to open the door, threatening to burst it open if he refused to comply. Serafin, without showing any alarm, descended, followed by his afflicted wife and by some of his children, before whom he heard, with perfect resignation, the order for his arrest. Irriberry, though himself a father, saw without emotion, and even hastened, the tender separation of this unfortunate couple; whilst Serafin, pressing with one arm his wife to his bosom, held out the other to his children who bathed it with their tears, recommending them to bear this misfortune with religious firmness, and put their trust in providence, which would not abandon them in their desolate situation. Knowing, as I do at present, the intensity of paternal feelings, I feel my heart beat at the remembrance of this afflicting scene.

Serafin's house underwent the same scrutiny as mine; but Irriberry found in it nothing that he sought.

The jeweller Esbry, the friend of Calvo, was also to share our imprisonment; but he was then absent from town, having gone to the fair of Lorca, which is within a few leagues of Murcia. No sooner had Irriberry seen me safely lodged than he set off for that place to arrest Esbry, who, much to his surprise, saw himself seized in the midst of a crowd of merchants who had gone to the fair, and who were not a little alarmed at these proceedings. On the following day, Esbry was already immured in one of the dungeons of the Inquisition; but so great was the privacy of these abodes, that, notwithstanding my watchfulness, the profound silence that reigned in them, and the accustomed clamour that preceded Irriberry's steps, who accompanied him to his prison, I did not notice his arrival.

At ten o'clock this general, who seemed to delight in visiting these places, entered my dungeon, accompanied by the jailer, and rudely bade me follow him, adding, "You will now do what you refused to do last night."

"What?" exclaimed I, "the inventory?"

"Ay, the inventory, the inventory of your —" the expressions he added were so offensive, that I was at last under the necessity of

reminding him that he was speaking to a gentleman and a soldier, who had a right to be treated with civility; and that though at that moment I was not in a situation to exact a suitable satisfaction, he should give me an ample one on my liberation. From this moment he restrained his ungentlemanly behaviour, and became more guarded in his expressions; whilst at the same time he stepped back to allow me a passage through those subterraneous windings, and having ascended the stairs, we arrived at the great hall. Here we found, seated round a large table, the senior inquisitor, the commandant-at-arms of the city, his secretary, and Irriberry's assessor. The general took his seat among the rest, and desired me to sit beside him; after which they commenced an examination of my papers, which were the same I had concealed in my house, and which had been seized on the night of my arrest. Irriberry put my commissions aside after I had acknowledged them as mine, saying that he was charged to send them to the minister of war, as well as the rest of the documents relative to the service. Whilst the gentlemen present were engaged in looking over some papers and parchments, the allegorical signs of which appeared to them singular, I profited by this opportunity to thrust into my sleeve a letter which was certainly one of the most important of the whole collection, and which, as the examination of all the papers had not yet taken place, no one missed. Thus was I enabled to save from certain ruin several persons among whom was one of high rank, who far from being suspected by government, received some months after particular marks of favour from the King.

More than two hours were spent in the examination of my papers. Irriberry then made a formal delivery of them to the senior inquisitor, requesting him to draw up the inventory, and have it signed by me. As it would have been useless and even prejudicial to me, to refuse complying with this formality, I put my signature to the inventory.

I was on the point of being sent back to my dungeon, when a familiar entered the hall, and informed the Inquisitor that an officer of my regiment was in the antechamber, and demanded to see me, that I might sign some papers relative to the administration of the regiment, which I did in presence of them all. The officer, on withdrawing, shook me by the hand, and offered me in the name of his comrades any pecuniary assistance of which I might stand in need. I was on the point of expressing to him my thanks, when the senior inquisitor undertook to answer for me, saying to the officer in a haughty tone, "that those who were in the Inquisition never stood in want of any thing." The officer withdrew, and I was reconducted to my dungeon, where I had long wished to be in order to destroy the paper I had secreted, and which I was obliged to swallow as the safest means I could devise.

Soon after one o'clock, the senior Inquisitor entered as on the preceding day. "General Irriberry," said he, "is a man of some-

visit me supper. I have learned that you have had some words with him, and perhaps you do not know the extent of the mischief to which that might lead. I know you tolerably well by the various informations I have had respecting you, as well as by your intimacy with my brother.* You have done right in signing the inventory of your papers: any refusal on your part would have been highly prejudicial to you, the more so as every thing is now discovered. There is only one individual residing at Granada who has hitherto succeeded in eluding the vigilance of government, but who cannot much longer escape their strict searches."

I easily perceived that he spoke in this manner only to alarm me by endeavouring to make me believe that all was lost; but he only confirmed me in the opinion that Calvo was the author of my present misfortunes. From what I could collect, Castañeda had not yet received any orders from the supreme council of the Inquisition respecting me, so that he considered me only as a prisoner under his care, but dependent upon the immediate authority of Irriberry, from whom he had received a confused account, in consequence of which he did not attach much importance to my arrest. He therefore contented himself with only observing the ordinary formalities required with those who were under the safeguard of the Holy Office. On the other hand, as he had no personal resentment against me, and had probably been prejudiced in my favour by my brother; and as he was in the flower of his age, and did not seem to consider severity a duty paramount to those [illegible] I did not recognise in him a fellow-labourer of the inquisitor Torquemada, who, as the historian Llorente says, was born to retard Christianity execrated.

Among the various things that Castañeda asked me, was, if I desired that the chains hanging on the walls should be removed. I replied that what principally troubled me were the gnats, of which he might see swarms covering the black walls of the dungeon; but that, as for the irons, I never imagined they were intended for me; and that, above all, the want of exercise was the cause of the violent headaches to which I was subject. He then promised to arrange matters so that I should be allowed to walk in the passages for an hour in the afternoon, a promise which he faithfully performed.

As he had not even alluded to any persons of Murcia when he mentioned the individual of Granada, I was very anxious to ascertain if I had any companions of misfortune in the neighbouring dungeons, and I waited with impatience for the moment of my promised walk. At last the hour having arrived, the jailer, who was a young priest, a novice in his office, and who had little knowledge of the world, came and opened the doors of my prison, saying to me on

* This gentleman was an officer in the army, then residing in Murcia with leave of absence, and with whom I was on very good terms. His family name was Castañeda, and he was a relation of the celebrated Ceballos.

withdrawing: "You can walk in this passage till my return; but mind not to make any noise." Having shut the doors which communicated with the interior, I began to examine the passage, convinced, from what he had said, that there were others under his safeguard. This place was four feet wide by fifty long, having loopholes near the ceiling that looked into a ditch close by the river, and admitted just light enough to see one's way. On one side there was a small staircase leading to the door which the jailer had just shut; and on the other were the entrances to the five dungeons that were in the passage, all the doors of which were shut, except mine.

Having ascertained that I was not watched, I began singing in a tone which might be audible in the other prisons, when very soon after I heard some one calling me by my name. It was Serafin del Rio, who, overjoyed at hearing my voice, desired me to attend to what he had to say. It related to the manner of his arrest by Irriberry, from whom he had collected enough to presume that myself and Esbry were his only companions of misfortune, and that he, as well as myself, could guess from whence the blow came. Having heard his account, I began to inform him of the occurrences which had taken place since our last meeting; but my narrative was cut short by the noise of bolts at the top of the stairs, proceeding from the jailer, who made no remark on my singing, which fortunately had not been heard by him, so deep was the passage in which we were buried.

At eight o'clock in the evening, he brought my chocolate as usual; but such were the clouds of gnats which the light of his lamp attracted, that I dispensed with it, that he and his light might disappear the sooner. I was so greatly annoyed during the night by those insects, that I could not close my eyes; I therefore spent the time in recapitulating the various events that had occurred. If, as appeared beyond all doubt, the treacherous Calvo was my betrayer, I might be certain that all the papers without exception, which I had delivered to him in the box, were now in the hands of government. This circumstance rendered my situation extremely critical, since that box contained all the correspondence addressed to me from persons, many of whom were of high rank and of great importance to our society, but whose signatures I had fortunately taken the precaution to erase, as also the names of well known persons alluded to in them. Besides those letters, there were other papers in my own handwriting, that proved me to be the author of a plan which I had presented to the society of Granada, and the object of which was to spread new ramifications throughout the peninsula.

I considered my situation in Murcia (where I was almost insolated, at the mercy of the creatures of Elio, and far from the source of events) as extremely embarrassing. It was therefore necessary, in order to avert the blow which threatened me if my trial took place in that province, to cause it to be instituted in the capital. I

thought this plan the more feasible, as I was pretty certain that Irriberry would not have failed to inform the government of the prompt and secret manner in which he had conducted my arrest, and which rendered it almost impossible for me to suspect by what accident I had been discovered. I was still engaged in these reflections, when the senior inquisitor came to pay me his usual visit.

On being left by ourselves, I asked him without hesitation what had become of Irriberry, to which he candidly answered, that he had gone post to Valencia to consult General Elio. I again inquired if he knew when my trial would commence, and he replied that he did not, as it was not within the cognizance of the holy tribunal; adding earnestly, "The incomprehensible tenor of your papers renders your situation extremely critical." This was precisely the answer I wished for, to bring about the plan I had just conceived, and I told him, in a confidential manner, that the esteem he had inspired me with did not permit my concealing from him that, could I but obtain an audience of the King, all the enigmas of which he complained would be soon explained. "How?" he exclaimed, "do you say so? Then lose not an instant. I have at my disposal the means to forward your petition. Write to his Majesty, and I will send a courier immediately to inform General Irriberry of your resolution."

He then called the keeper, and ordered him to bring the materials for writing, at the same time whispering something into his ear. Not many minutes elapsed before the jailer returned, and I wrote the following petition to the King:—

"Sire,

"Lieutenant-Colonel Don Juan Van Halen, confined in the dungeons of the Inquisition of this city by your Majesty's orders, convinced that this rigorous measure is caused by some sinister interpretation, apparently corroborated by the papers that have been found in his possession, and desiring to give a satisfactory explanation of their contents, humbly entreats your majesty to order his removal to Madrid, and to grant him an audience, a grace which he hopes your majesty will not refuse him. May God preserve your Majesty's life, &c.——In the dungeon of this tribunal, September 24th, 1817."

Whilst I was writing these lines, Castañeda observed me very attentively. He then read them, folded the petition, and causing the writing materials to be removed, wished me a good afternoon.

When the hour for my walk arrived, the jailer came to open the door of my dungeon; and on his disappearing, I imparted to Serafin what I had just resolved upon, as well as the motives which had induced me to do it. He approved of my plan, and I left him to try if I could converse with our other fellow prisoner.

Though Esbry was in the dungeon contiguous to mine, unfortunately he was deaf, and I feared that the inquisitors would hear the

loud tones of my voice sooner than himself. Owing to his good humour, of which he had an inexhaustible fund, and to a habit he had contracted of speaking aloud when he was alone, I discovered the place of his confinement. As I listened at the door of his dungeon, I heard him frequently repeat the name of St. Thomas, and soon collected enough to know that it was the life of that saint he was reading. Far, however, from being edified by its perusal, the number of absurdities which the book contained excited his mirth to a degree that was highly ludicrous. He made the most droll comments, and now and then burst into loud laughter. I did all I could to be heard by him, but it was useless; consequently I returned to Serafin, and communicated to him my bad success, which I was afraid might lead to some unpleasant results; but he was of opinion that we had nothing to fear from him, as the firmness of his character was proof against all the rigour of the inquisitors. Besides, as he never preserved any papers, no accusation could be established against him, and it was very probable that, if he suspected Calvo to be the betrayer, he would deny all.

Esbry was the sole support of a respectable and numerous family. A good son, good husband, and good father, he enjoyed, by his upright conduct, the esteem and consideration even of those aristocrats who found nothing respectable out of their own circle. I was ignorant of the circumstances attending his arrest, but I knew that nothing could be found in his house that might be prejudicial to him or to us. His name figured in my papers only in an allegorical manner, so that it was known but to a few of the initiated. He had, however, the misfortune of being acquainted with the author of our calamities, and might, perhaps, be accused of having engraved the medal, which it was our intention to place between the foundation-stones of the Inquisition. As it was important he should know that we had been betrayed by Calvo, I again made an effort to call his attention, but it was all in vain; and I re-entered my dungeon with this new care on my mind.

On that night the jailer brought with the chocolate a perfume, which, he said, was an antidote against the gnats; but the smoke escaping through the loop-hole, it proved ineffectual. Serafin, whose dungeon was separated from mine by a double stone wall, gave me to understand by his repeated knocks during the night, that he was as much tormented by the gnats as myself; but fearing he might be heard above, I warned him of it on the following day.

The senior inquisitor, Castañeda, paid me his visit at the usual hour. "I sent yesterday at three o'clock," said he, "an express to his Majesty with your petition, and wrote at the same time to several personages of the court, friends of mine. I have also informed General Irriberry, whom I suppose to be at Valencia, of your resolution, and I have no doubt that we shall obtain a favourable result. I am really grieved to see you thus suffering, whilst such truly dan-

gerous and perverted men as Romero Alpuente should be freely walking about, and mocking the vigilance of the laws. Is it not so? Be frank with me: give me this proof of your confidence."

"Sir," I answered, "I assure you I never heard him speak but of the love adventures of his youth. I have spent at his house some pleasant hours listening to the droll account he gave of his Dulcineas. I always remarked that he avoided speaking of politics, adducing strong reasons for not meddling with them. You may be sure, Sir, that the historical romance of his incipient gallantries was the more amusing as one would be tempted to say, in looking at him, that he was the original from which Cervantes drew the portrait of the hero of La Mancha."

"No, no, Mr. Van Halen," retorted Castañeda. "Romero Alpuente is the hero of other exploits than those you mention. The anxiety he at present evinces is observed by all; and," added he, in a tone foreign to the sentiments of moderation he had hitherto shown, "were he to fall into my hands, I would find a good place for him in this house, where, trust me, he should pass the rest of his days."

Castañeda's resentment against Romero Alpuente was well-founded; for there never lived a more decided enemy of religious and civil despotism, or one more zealous for its overthrow, than this venerable old man, whom I loved as a father from the moment I became acquainted with him. From him I had imbibed the purest ideas on the subject of liberty and disinterested patriotism; and as I feared that Castañeda's wishes might be fulfilled, I suffered not a little in feigning indifference at what he uttered. Fortunately the subject of gallantry gave a new turn to the conversation, in the course of which Castañeda hinted that a young lady, living at Malaga, had excited the sympathy of many by the extreme grief she had evinced at my misfortune; adding, that it was whispered by those who pretended to be well-informed on the subject, that she had been the cause of the delay experienced by Irriberry on the night of my arrest. As I had good reason for feigning ignorance of the lady, I took the whole as a joke; and Castañeda continued the subject in a manner not altogether consistent with his profession, though he can by no means be said to be the only clergyman in Spain who ventures on this topic.

In the evening I enjoyed my ordinary walk, and profited of the opportunity to inform Serafin of our conversation. I also struggled, though in vain, with Esbry's deafness, and returned to my dungeon at the usual hour.

On the following day Castañeda came to see me, but remained only a short time; during which he proposed to me the perusal of some religious works. I chose the *Gospel in Triumph*, written by the unfortunate Olavide, which I read with pleasure. On withdrawing, he said that his occupations would prevent him from seeing

me next day, but that on the following he would not fail to come, in order to conduct me to a more comfortable and wholesome apartment, which had not yet been inhabited by any one.

I have perhaps entered into details which may appear trifling to the reader; but as Castañeda was the first inquisitor I came in contact with, and as his conduct towards me offers such a striking contrast with that of his colleagues with whom I had afterwards the misfortune to deal, I thought it right, in justice to him, to mention those particulars.

CHAPTER V.

Removal to the new prison of the Holy Office—Description—The author is sent for to Madrid—Letters from his cousin—Civilities of Castañeda—Conversation with the jailer—Ceremony of exorcism—The author's devotions in the hall of the Inquisition—His departure from Murcia—He travels to Madrid under a strong escort—Affection evinced towards him by the dragoons of his regiment—Anecdote of Serafin del Rio—Inn at Corral de Almaguez—Papers of the author laid before the King—Plain of Ocaña—Arrival at Aranjuez—Eguia, minister of war—History of an aide-de-camp—Arrival at Madrid—Description—Reception by the senior inquisitor—Parting with Irriberry—Dungeon.

On the first opportunity that offered, I informed Serafin of the change of residence that was in contemplation; but he already knew it, and wished it more ardently than myself, as he had been indulged in walking about the passage only during the short time required to clean what he humorously called his *sewer*. Fearing, however, that this change would be for the worse with respect to our daily communications, we concerted the plan we should adopt in case we were not near enough to converse together, or at least to know of our common existence. I then proceeded towards the door of Esbry's dungeon with the intention of making a last effort to conquer his deafness, but all to no purpose. I perceived that he was not so gay as usual: he coughed frequently; and now and then apostrophised in no measured terms the gnats, whom he called devils of priests transformed into gnats, by whom, he said, he was incessantly tormented, as if they were in the pay of the inquisitors. His physical defect, which at all times heightened the natural vivacity of his character, rendered him extremely impatient of his situation; while on the other hand we suffered equally from it, as we could not reasonably hope that, without a previous understanding, our answers would agree with his.

On the following day, September 28th, soon after breakfast, I heard some noise in the passage, which I rightly attributed to the removal of my companions to their new habitation; and some time after, I had the pleasure of seeing Castañeda arrive, accompanied

by the jailer, to effect mine. We met with nothing worth notice on our way, except that, as we removed farther from these subterraneous passages, the air became purer, and I breathed more freely. On arriving at my new prison, which was on the second floor of the building, and which certainly could not be called a dungeon, Castañeda said to me, with an air of satisfaction, "You, Mr. Van Halen, are the first who ever inhabited this apartment. You see that we know how to unite, in its construction, security with salubrity and comfort. To-morrow the place you have just left will disappear, and with it all the disgusting objects you have seen." He then withdrew, followed by the jailer, who locked the double doors of my new prison.

Situated as I have above hinted in the principal part of that extensive edifice, it was the first room on that floor, as appeared from the large No. I. painted on the outer door. Its size was five times larger than the one I had just left, and formed a perfect square of four-and-twenty feet: the floor was brick, and the ceiling, which was eighteen feet high, had at the top two large windows, cross-barred and looking into a gallery. The bed was placed on a large board, fastened to the wall by iron hinges, as were also the bench and the table. On the wall opposite the bed was a large cross, painted green, representing that of the Inquisition.

I waited impatiently for the evening, to see whether I should now be allowed my accustomed walk; but the day passed away without my experiencing this indulgence. In the afternoon, in the midst of the profound silence that reigned there, I heard very distinctly Serafin begin a hymn, by which he made me understand that he was not far off, nor discontented with his new abode; but fearing that the jailer's suspicions might be excited, particularly as the prisoner mixed in his devout verses the number of his new prison, I did not think it prudent to answer him. At night the jailer left me a light, a novelty at which I studiously made no remark; and I also observed in him (as I had indeed observed several times before,) a desire to speak with me; but his shyness seemed insurmountable, and as I was convinced that in the Inquisition it was wiser to listen than to speak, I feigned not to perceive his embarrassment. This maxim, so difficult to be followed by those who breathe the atmosphere of a dungeon deprived of all human communication, was, I believe, of great service to me, as I had afterwards many opportunities of remarking. In the course of that day I amused myself in tracing with my tooth-pick, on the pedestal of the green cross, some verses, bearing an allusion to the change of abode which I had experienced for the better.

On the following day, the senior inquisitor, Castañeda, entered, dressed in his inquisitorial robes, and said to me, rubbing his hands with an air of gravity, "I am at present very much occupied. I suppose you are pleased with your new apartment, and that there is no longer any occasion for your walking out; I have, however

desired the jailer to allow you now and then to take a turn or two in the gallery of the prison." At these words he observed the verses I had traced on the pedestal of the cross, which he read with a smile, and then withdrew, apparently well pleased. On the evening of that day I was allowed to go out into the gallery, though accompanied by the jailer, who did not leave me an instant. I passed several times before Serafin's prison; but as, under these circumstances, it was impossible to say a word to him, I contented myself with conversing as loud as possible with my companion, that he might understand I was not alone. The walk lasted but a short time, and we returned to my prison, where the jailer, after much hesitation said, presenting a receipt for me to sign, that might enable him to receive in my name a month's pay from the funds of my regiment, "that the senior inquisitor had desired him to keep the whole to meet the expenses I might occasion; but that I might rely on his employing the money in a manner most agreeable to my wishes."

I told him that he was welcome to the whole of the money, and that I only desired to be furnished with candles to burn in my prison during the night. He assured me that he would immediately procure a sufficient number of wax candles for that purpose, and the more gladly as it would give me an opportunity of spending part of the night in reading the religious works with which they had furnished me.

On the following day, I saw nothing of Castañeda, neither was I allowed to walk in the gallery, so that I found no other means of conversing with Serafin than by singing. In this manner the time passed away, without any thing new occurring, till the evening of the 2nd of October, when Castañeda entered my prison, followed by the jailer bringing a chair, which he placed near my table. On the latter withdrawing, the inquisitor sat down, and drawing from his pocket a letter, said: "Well Sir, I have at last received the answer which I expected to your petition. General Irriberry will shortly be here, and you will set off to-morrow for Madrid. Meantime I will make every preparation necessary for the journey. The secretary of the Council of the Supreme* was the person who presented your petition to his Majesty. Here is what he writes to me on the subject."

He then read to me some passages of the letter, the contents of which corroborated his former assertion, but from which I discovered that the said secretary was his brother, with more worldly-minded views than himself, as may appear from the following paragraph. "The affair which you have taken upon yourself, my dear brother, is more delicate than you seem aware of. Do not, therefore, neglect to use every precaution to obtain from him some important communication; and recollect that the result of the favour now granted him, (meaning me,) if unfortunate, may weigh heavily on yourself."

* The tribunal at which the inquisitor-general presides is so called.

On the following day the jailer presented to me, by order of Castañeda, the inventory of all the effects found in my house, none of which, he said, had been confiscated. In putting my signature to the document, I added, that I placed every thing contained therein at the disposal of Don Serafin del Rio for the relief of his family, thus feigning ignorance of his arrest. While I was writing this, the jailer, who kept his eyes fixed on my paper, was taken by surprise, and uttered a few words respecting Serafin's absence from his family, which he quickly retracted, withdrawing immediately after, greatly confused. I then began singing to inform Serafin of my approaching departure.

Early in the evening I received the unexpected visit of Castañeda, Irriberry, and the director of the posts, who came to treat of an affair sufficiently ridiculous. Since my arrest, some letters addressed to me had arrived at the post-office of Murcia, which they pretended they were not authorized to open until I had myself received them. I could scarcely refrain from smiling at hearing this declaration, as it was a notorious fact that the government of Spain made it a practice to open even the most reserved correspondence of the ambassadors themselves. It was very evident, therefore, that such formality was unnecessary to examine that of an individual, imprisoned, according to Irriberry's account, for high treason ; but I soon found that the author of this farce was that general, who, wishing to conciliate me, had adopted the most extravagant means that could be devised. Having desired the jailer to pay the postage of my letters, they all withdrew except Irriberry.

On breaking their seals, I immediately recognised the handwriting, and delivered them to the general, who eagerly read them. They were all from home with the exception of one, which was from a cousin of mine, formerly an officer in the navy, and at that time holding a public office at Madrid, to whom I was greatly attached, and who will hereafter figure in my narrative. As he was still ignorant of my situation, and had similar political notions with myself, he used in his letter some expressions which might have committed him with government. Irriberry read to me some of the objectionable passages it contained, saying earnestly as he returned it me, " burn that letter, and know by this that I am a gentleman, and can prove it at a pinch."

I was so greatly surprised at his conduct, that I scarcely knew what to answer, particularly as I entertained doubts of his sincerity. I however took the letter without making any remark, though I was not sorry to see that he should begin to act like a gentleman. The senior inquisitor now returned, followed by the jailer bringing a bundle of clothes for my journey.

After a silence of some minutes, caused doubtless by Castañeda's curiosity to know the contents of the letters, and Irriberry's disinclination to gratify it, the inquisitor broke the pause by observing that all the preparations for the journey were made, the

ready, and a change of horses ordered at several places on the road; then, addressing himself to me, politely said, that he had placed in General Irriberry's hands his service of plate (which was really a very handsome one) for my use during the journey; adding, that I might give my final orders concerning my servants. I replied, that with respect to my man-servant, the colonel of the regiment could dispose of him from the moment of my arrest, since he belonged to those destined to the service of the officers, and that as to the cook, I wished her to be sent to Madrid to my family, if such an arrangement was agreeable to herself, requesting at the same time that my Danish dog might be delivered to me; but I was informed that he had died eight days before.

Castañeda, accustomed as he was to a quiet and methodical life, withdrew to take some repose, that he might be able to be with us at the hour of parting; and Irriberry followed him soon after to make the final arrangements for the journey.

When the jailer came at ten o'clock to serve me a cup of chocolate, I was dressed, and ready to depart. He had under his arm a small parcel containing some wax candles, which he placed on the bed; and sitting down before the table, fixed his eyes on me with an expression of interest, saying after considerable hesitation, "Pray, Sir, is it true what I have heard respecting you?"

"What is it you have heard?" I inquired.

"They say, Sir, that you are *a bishop of freemasons*; that you teach the heresies and diabolical doctrines of that sect; that you burn the images of our Saviour, and conspire against our holy religion and our catholic monarch."

I had the greatest difficulty in restraining my inclination to laugh at hearing such a ridiculous speech; but not wishing to discourage him from continuing his conversation, I replied, that it was impossible for me to answer such a string of absurd accusations; that I was sorry to hear him talk in that way; but that I was not so much offended at his repeating such foolish stories, as at his believing them. "Sir," he continued, "from the first moment I saw you, I have observed your actions and your manners very closely, and in truth I can say that I have found nothing blameable in them. I am also told that your father and mother are most respectable and religious people, whose conduct is a model of devotion to the whole congregation of the Eucharisty at Madrid, and I am really grieved to think that every religious person who knows you should be under the necessity of considering you in the light of a heretic, excommunicated by our holy mother-church."

This discourse appearing to me more important than I at first thought it, I begged him openly to declare upon what foundation he believed me to be a heretic. "Sir," said he, "every one in the town is persuaded of it. Three days after your arrest, the landlord of the house you inhabited, consulting his confessor, went with his

whole family to hear a solemn mass celebrated at his parish. Immediately after the priest, dressed in his sacerdotal robes, and accompanied by the various attendants of the church, went in procession, followed by the landlord's family, friends, and other of the faithful, to your house, where after the most edifying ceremony he exorcised it in order to expel the devil, who, every one believes, was in the house; the whole terminating by having a cross placed on the roof. It is the opinion of most people of Murcia, that, without this religious ceremony, the place would not have been habitable."

To form an exact idea of this singular dialogue, it would be necessary to have seen all the grimaces with which this deluded man accompanied it. At another time the recital of it would only have excited my mirth; but when I considered the religious character of my father, and the grief such news would occasion him, as well as the unhappy lot of the unfortunate family of Serafin del Rio, begging their bread among such a fanatical people, I could not help sighing at hearing an account so much calculated to increase my own sorrows.

The jailer, perceiving that I was affected by it, turned the conversation upon money matters, saying, as he showed me the wax candles that remained, that he had brought them to me thinking they might be useful on the road. I told him that I destined them for a different purpose, requesting he would preserve them to light the altar in the great hall of the tribunal, after which I begged he would permit me to visit it in order to say my prayers. He was greatly astonished at this request, and joyfully acceded to it. As I passed by Serafin's prison, I heard him sing a hymn, in which he had been engaged most part of the evening. He intended it as his farewell, which, indeed, was the last I ever heard him utter. On arriving at the hall, I knelt before the altar, at which the jailer evinced the utmost surprise. He stood motionless, as if he actually could not believe his eyes; but when I asked him to pray with me for the good result of my journey, he shed tears of joy, and from that time till the moment of my departure he continued in my company.

It was one o'clock when Castañeda and Irriberry appeared. They desired me to follow them, and on entering the gallery I observed three men enveloped in their cloaks, who escorted us through several streets, which we found deserted even by the watchmen, whilst the darkness of the night was interrupted only by the light of a lantern carried by one of the attendants. I walked between Irriberry and Castañeda, with the three muffled men behind us; the silence of those solitary streets being broken only by the sounds of our foot-steps, till having traversed the greatest part of the town we arrived at the gate on the road to Madrid. We walked about a mile farther, when we reached a convent of

monks, in front of which stood a carriage in readiness for us. Before my stepping into it, Castañeda took leave of me in a very friendly manner, requesting I would write to him the moment a favourable change had taken place in my situation. On entering the carriage, a detachment of infantry, who were in the convent, made their appearance, headed by Irriberry's adjutant, who took his seat in the carriage with his chief and myself, after which we began our journey at the slow pace indispensable to our escort.

Before day-light, we had proceeded on our road four leagues from Murcia without meeting with a single person; and at eight o'clock a detachment of cavalry, belonging to my regiment, and commanded by a sergeant, came to join us and relieve our escort. The secrecy observed at our departure rendered these troops ignorant of the object of their march; but on arriving at a small village where we halted for a short time, and where I alighted from the carriage, I was very soon recognised both by the soldiers and the sergeant, who, seeing that I wished to light my cigar, approached to offer me his own for that purpose, at the same time whispering, "Sir, we are all at your service if you wish to profit by the opportunity." I was too closely watched to be able to concert with him my escape, or scarcely to answer him. "Do nothing, I request," was all I could say to him at this or at any other time.

We changed horses at this place, our escort being also relieved by an equal number of horsemen from the same regiment, and at seven in the evening we arrived at a solitary inn, where we passed the night. Irriberry had been very attentive to me the whole of that day, and had exerted all his powers of conversation to amuse me.

Early in the morning of the following day, we were already far from the wretched inn in which we had passed a most uncomfortable night, and at noon arrived at Albacete, where we found waiting for us a numerous escort sent by Elio from Valencia. After taking some refreshments, we continued our journey till we arrived at Corral de Almaguez, where we were to spend the night.

In the course of that day, Irriberry told me some anecdotes respecting various persons of Murcia, of a different kind from those related to me by the jailer. He also informed me, without making any mystery of it, that Serafin and Esbry remained in the prison I had just quitted, that the family of the latter had been more alarmed at his arrest than that of Serafin, who, on being asked in the interrogatory he had undergone three days previous to my departure whether he knew me, had answered in the affirmative, saying jocosely, on the subject of our dining so frequently together, that I deprived him of the company of his wife to make him the jester of my table, and that consequently our dining together did not signify a straw. As a proof of the ready wit and good humour of this unfortunate friend of mine, Irriberry read to me some verses, which

he had copied from those traced by Serafin on the wall of his dungeon, against the gnats by which he was so much tormented. I do not at present recollect them, but I know that I laughed heartily at hearing them. From what Irriberry said respecting Esbry and Serafin, he appeared to be much interested in their favour, particularly when he owned to me that their affair was not worthy of occupying the attention of the tribunal.

The great inn of Corral de Almaguez, where we had just alighted, had more comfortable apartments than the one at which we had slept on the previous night. Irriberry, however, showed some displeasure at seeing in the yard several equipages which seemed to indicate a great assemblage of travellers. He gave orders to the commanding officer to place sentries at the door of our apartment; but as the curiosity of the travellers had been considerably excited by learning from the detachment in waiting for us, that they expected a mysterious personage on his way to Madrid, the staircase was crowded with them in hopes of ascertaining who I was; but they were disappointed in their expectations, as I walked from the carriage to the apartment so muffled up in my cloak, that it was impossible for any one to recognise me.

By one of those chances that sometimes occur in travelling, even in Spain, where the intercouse is not so great, I observed among the travellers an old officer of the navy, an intimate friend of my father, who, as I was afterwards informed, was removing with all his family from Madrid to Carthagena. Being of a frank and cheerful character, and equally unceremonious, no sooner did Irriberry make his appearance in the kitchen (which in the inns of Spain is the usual rendezvous of travellers of all ranks, particularly in winter) than he addressed himself to him to gain some information respecting me. As it may be easily believed, his curiosity remained ungratified; but had he even suspected that it was the son of his friend, whom he had known from his earliest infancy, he would certainly have made an effort to speak to me, and give me news of my family, who were then residing at Madrid, and of whom I ardently wished to hear.

Glad as I should have been of a visit from such a traveller, whose merry voice I could hear from my apartment, my resentment against Irriberry was not yet sufficiently appeased to allow of my asking him the smallest favour. Though his conduct towards me was certainly changed, the inconsequence of his character prevented a complete reconciliation; so that, when he entered the apartment to sup with me, I said not a word on the subject; while he, on his side, far from imagining I had any acquaintances in the inn, conversed on different topics. During this time his aide-de-camp, who, probably fatigued by the watch of the preceding night, stood in need of repose, was lying full length on the sofa, regaling us with his sonorous snoring.

Two hours before day-break, every thing being ready for our

departure, we left the inn long before any other traveller had thought of moving. The weather was fine, but the road so bad that it prevented our travelling at a quick pace. Irriberry then proposed my walking with him a short distance; I agreed to it; and leaving the aide-de-camp asleep in the carriage, I took Irriberry's arm, which he politely offered me. Had any one seen us at that moment, he would have supposed that the greatest intimacy existed between us. During this walk he related to me several circumstances which had happened at the time of my arrest at Valencia, Murcia, and Granada; but I observed that he avoided mentioning the names of certain persons, among others that of brigade-general Torrijos. He informed me that all the papers found in my house at Murcia were already in the hands of the King, as he had sent them to Madrid by an officer in his confidence, who, on presenting himself to General Eguia, minister of war, was asked by him whether my arrest had been carried into effect without opposition, and whether no signs of fermentation existed on his leaving that city. This proved to me how Calvo's denunciation must have been exaggerated, in order to obtain from the government a higher price for his perfidy. Irriberry added, that the officer had been introduced by Eguia to his Majesty, who received him most graciously, at the same time taking the case that contained my papers, which he put into his escritoire.

It was Irriberry's opinion that the denouement of this affair would be as favourable as I could wish: and so firmly did he believe this, that, with his accustomed superficiality, he amused himself with describing the part which each of us should act on our arrival at court.

Towards noon we reached the great plain of Ocaña, where we saw a strong detachment of cuirassiers advancing towards us, the commanding officer of which, approaching the carriage, inquired for General Irriberry, who received from him a despatch which he perused, and then alighted to speak with the new comer. On re-entering the carriage, he ordered the coachman to quicken the pace of his mules, and informed me that the despatch was from the minister of war, but left me to guess its import. A few hours after, we arrived at the principle inn of Aranjuez.

As it is only during the finest months of the year that the court resides here, the town was wholly deserted. In the inn the same formalities were observed with me as on the former night, with the exception that there were more sentries employed for my safeguard. Irriberry asked for his portmanteau, and ordering a post-chaise, set off soon after our arrival, having first recommended me to the care of his aide-de-camp, and assuring me that his absence would be but short. My new guardian, trusting chiefly to the sentries, seemed to care very little about the recommendations of his chief, his whole soul being bent upon his supper. Once the repast served, and his

gormandizing appetite gratified, he became more sociable, and treated me with several anecdotes, differing little from those related to me by the jailer, respecting the exorcisms of the priests of Malaga in my house. Perfectly satisfied with himself, he ended by supporting his narrative with his own authority, saying: "Probably you will return soon to your post; but that event has totally ruined you in the opinion of most. The soldiers themselves will always preserve the fatal prejudice of being commanded by an heretical chief."

He said this in such a *naïve* manner, that he rather excited my pity than my resentment, though, indeed, officers of his stamp were at that time so rare in the Spanish army, that he would have been laughed at and ridiculed, even by the most ignorant private. His absurd manner of talking excited in me a wish to learn the history of his life, and on the following day at breakfast he gratified my curiosity. Born in Arragon, he was a sexton at the beginning of the war of independence, when he enlisted as a private in one of the guerrillas, and, as he knew how to write, was shortly made a sergeant. Being afterwards employed in the major's office, he ascended to the rank of ensign, and at the close of the war was promoted to a lieutenancy, in which rank he served in the detachment of infantry under the orders of Irriberry, at whose house he conducted himself in a manner so basely officious towards the general's wife and family, that he was made his aide-de-camp. It seems, however, that the only hostile expedition in which he had figured to some purpose in the course of his military career, was in the affair of my arrest.

Having given me this sketch of his history, and swallowed his breakfast, he informed me that we were to set off in the afternoon. He then went out to give his orders, and returned shortly after to make his toilet. When he re-appeared *en grande tenue*, I recognised, among the articles of his dress, some which convinced me that, however religious in his expressions, and fanatical in his practices, his conscience was not so scrupulously nice as to prevent him from wearing articles which he had secured at the pillage of my house. Such were the officers on whom the Spanish government chiefly depended to carry on their oppressive measures.

We left Aranjuez at two o'clock in the afternoon, escorted by a large body of cuirassiers, and continued our journey to Madrid, which is seven leagues distant from this royal seat. It was sunset when we reached our Lady of the Angels,* when the aide-de-camp, doubtless in conformity with the instructions he had received from Irriberry, desired the coachman to drive slowly, so that it was quite dark when we arrived at the turnpike on this side of the river Manzanares, where we halted, and he immediately alighted. Soon after,

* A hermitage so called, situated near the road about a league from Madrid

Irriberry came alone to the carriage door, and having informed me that another carriage was waiting for us, seized my hand, and, pressing it affectionately, asked me if I had forgotten the vexations he had caused me. I was moved by this conduct, and answered him, with sincerity, that I had. "Let us then go to the other carriage," he added, "where the aide-de-camp of the minister of war is waiting for us."

I followed him, imagining for a moment that the hopes he had inspired me with were on the eve of being realized. Before setting off, he gave orders to the escort to remain behind, and named the hotel where his aide-de-camp was to proceed with the other equipage. There was not a word said in our carriage by any of the party. On arriving before the gates of Madrid, we entered without being at all detained, and rode through the streets of San Geronimo and Preciados when the retreat was sounding. Soon after I perceived that our direction was not that of the palace, and my hopes entirely vanished when the carriage stopped at the door of the Inquisition of the Court, in the street of the same name.

We went in, and ascended a handsome stair-case that led to the principal apartments of the building in which the senior inquisitor resided, and having passed through several rooms, entered a study where we found that inquisitor seated in an arm-chair. Irriberry mentioned my name to him, but this appeared unnecessary, as he seemed to know it well. He desired us to be seated, and addressed me two or three times (whilst we waited the arrival of the jailer, whom he ordered to be called,) with all the imperiousness of his class, and the impertinence of a man arrived at his dotage.

On the jailer presenting himself, he asked him if the dungeon was ready, to which the other answered: "Which? Does your honour mean Olavide's?"

"Yes," replied the inquisitor; "conduct this gentleman thither;" and then informed my two companions that their mission was at an end. Irriberry, seeing that I was on the point of withdrawing with the jailer, and being accustomed to go over all the prisons of Murcia without any obstacle, rose to follow me; but the inquisitor detained him, saying with a restless and imperative air: "No, Mr. Irriberry, that cannot be," adding, as he observed his surprise, "in our secret prisons no person, whatever be his rank, is permitted to enter. It is only the judge and the attendants of the tribunal who have that liberty, unless by special order from his Majesty."

Irriberry then shook me by the hand with as much interest as he had shown insolence on former occasions, and I followed the jailer to the prison which occupied the interior part of the building, and which we entered through a long narrow passage. We descended several flights of stairs until we arrived at the dungeon prepared for me, at the doors of which we met another jailer, who was waiting for us. I entered, and the doors were closed upon me

CHAPTER VI.

Olavide, the first tenant of the author's new dungeon—Members composing the Holy Office—Sketch of the keepers—Messenger from the King's palace—Anecdotes—Ramirez de Arellano, a sycophant of Ferdinand—The treachery of Calvo—The author's reflections on his expected audience of the King—Scene in the dungeon with Ramirez de Arellano—The King's dress, and his reception of the author—Dialogue between the King and the author—Intemperate behaviour of Arellano—The King's kind expression at parting—The author required to write to King Ferdinand from his dungeon—Nature of the document which he addresses to the monarch—Obsequies of the kings of Spain at the Escurial—Inquiries made by the author's brother—His father is deceived by the inquisitors.

My new dungeon had been the abode of the unfortunate Olavide, for whom it was purposely constructed in the most retired part of that vast prison. It was built on the same plan as the first in which I had been confined in the Inquisition of Murcia, with the exception only that the double doors had each a small aperture in the middle, strongly barred, the space that intervened between them being equal to the thickness of the wall. At about six paces from the dungeon, and on turning the short passage leading to it, was another door that separated this place from the rest of the prison, which was intersected by other passages and staircases, also enclosed by doors, and which communicated with the apartments of the jailers. The members composing the Holy Office of the Court were the senior inquisitor, whose name I do not recollect, the *fiscal** Zorrilla, the two judges Esperanza and Riesco, (all of them belonging to the higher class of the clergy,) besides several familiars, and two keepers, whose names were Don Marcelino Velez Villa, and Don Juan Sanchez. The secret prison was surrounded by the various apartments which the above members occupied, forming an extensive building, called the Inquisition of the Court.

The first of the two keepers was a man of about thirty-two years of age, and had rather a prepossessing appearance. He had married, while very young, the daughter of his predecessor, who lived in the times of the unfortunate Olavide. Having no children of his own, he adopted an orphan girl, who performed the menial services of the place. The other keeper, who, though already in his twenty-eighth year, was usually called by the diminutive of his name, that is to say Don *Juanito*, had been brought up from his earliest infancy in the bosom of that tribunal. They were both laical, and of mean birth; but their office, so degrading in the eyes of the majority, entitled them to the appellation of Don, which is the distinctive mark of nobility, though previous to entering in the

* A kind of attorney general who prosecutes criminals in the King's name.

exercise of their functions, they were obliged to give all those guarantees required by the Inquisition for the better security of its victims, and for the prevention of all corruption.

I found the treatment, which I received in the Inquisition of the Court, more severe than that of Murcia. A greater cleanliness was, perhaps, observable; but it was necessary to eat in the Asiatic manner, the use of all steel or sharp instruments being forbidden, and the food served to me ready cut, with a wooden spoon to eat it with.

On the day after my arrival, (the 11th of October,) I received the visit of two inquisitors, who, as I afterwards learned from the jailer, were the fiscal Zorrilla, and the judge Esperanza. They appeared to be between thirty and forty years of age, and affected a sympathy for my situation, which their satisfied looks strongly contradicted. From the few insignificant questions they put to me, it was very evident that curiosity was the sole object of their visit.

During eight successive days I remained in a state of incertitude, seeing no other persons than the two jailers, who came alternately to attend on me, and clean my dungeon. In Murcia I was allowed to walk in the passage while this took place, but here I was removed to another close by, and carefully locked in, whilst the jailers, assisted by a third person, employed themselves, notwithstanding their ridiculous pretensions to nobility, and the badge hanging at their breasts,* in the most disgusting menial offices, after which I was reconducted to my dungeon. This usually took place every second or third day.

At length on the 18th of the same month, soon after sun-set, Don Marcelino entered my dungeon followed by Zorrilla and another person wrapped up in his cloak, who, without saluting me, made a sign to the jailer to put down the chair he brought with him, and desiring him and Zorrilla to withdraw, immediately sat down. On throwing open his cloak, I quickly recognised in him, notwithstanding the shabby dress he wore, a messenger from the palace. He appeared to be above fifty years of age, and had a mean and wrinkled face, rendered still more unprepossessing by the malicious look of his quick eye, which seemed to characterize him as having long been familiarized with the vilest intrigues of the palace, a fact which he afterwards proved by the many indecent anecdotes he related to me. "You have demanded an audience of his Majesty," he said in an arrogant manner: "this unparalleled favour is now granted you. Be open in your communications, and show yourself sensible of the honour done you. Remember that it is with the King, your master, you are going to speak. Take care how you behave."

* All the agents of the Inquisition are decorated with the order of the Holy Office, which they always wear hanging at their breasts by a red ribband.

I replied, that I expected the audience with anxiety, that he might be certain of my fulfilling the duties I owed to myself and others, and that, if I succeeded in undeceiving his Majesty, my happiness would be complete.

"To-morrow night about this time," he said, "you will have the felicity of seeing our beloved monarch; but if you do not acquit yourself to his Majesty's complete satisfaction, tremble; for there is no punishment, however rigorous, that you will not experience." He then began to relate to me a multitude of disgusting incidents of the palace, which he offered as virtuous instances of loyalty and devotion to the King, and which proved to me that this wretch was one of those who governed his Majesty's mind, and from whose undue influence I had every thing to apprehend. At length wearied of wearying me, he rose and called the jailer, who immediately entered with Zorrilla. "To-morrow," he said, addressing me as a school-master would a boy, "we shall see how you behave," and turning to the jailer, made him take the chair, saying, "and you mind that the gentleman be ready by to-morrow evening at this time. Farewell," he added as he withdrew; "we shall meet again, and do not forget my advice."

On being left alone, I began to reflect on all the villanies he had disclosed to me, and to make conjectures as to who a man of such mean appearance and high pretensions could be. Among the numberless anecdotes with which he thought to intimidate me, there was one I could not easily forget. "I am a true and faithful friend of the King, our lord," he said. "I saw Richard,* that ruffian who formed a conspiracy to assassinate his Majesty. I saw him when he might have saved his life by discovering the plot to me, but his obstinacy in keeping it secret carried him to the scaffold. Such is the fruit of a criminal tenacity." This my visiter dignified with the name of advice.

When Don Marcelino came to my dungeon, I asked him the name of the man who gave himself such airs. "He is a great friend of the King," he replied: "he followed him to France and everywhere."

"His dress and manners, however," I observed, "are those of a runaway galley-slave."

"Oh, no!" exclaimed Don Marcelino, "he is a gentleman. What! don't you know the family of the Ramirez de Arellano? Well, that is his name. I suppose he came in that dress that he might not be recognised."

I could not close my eyes during the whole night, my mind being too much engaged in devising the best means of presenting my fatal compromise to a king who was surrounded by men who delighted in visiting dungeons, and rendering more wretched the fate of their

* He was executed in Madrid in the year 1815 for high treason.

victims. My conversations with Castañeda, and Irriberry's communications, placed it beyond doubt that Calvo was my betrayer, and that all my papers were in the hands of the government. Fortunately when I delivered them to him, they were in a very confused state, many of the letters being written under feigned names, and the rest without signatures. Thus, though Calvo's treachery disclosed to the King the existence of an extensive secret society in Spain, the names of the hundreds of persons who composed it still remained a secret. It was evident, however, that I should now be called upon to explain every thing, or to bear alone the whole weight of the vengeance of our enemies. It was important I should avoid a complicated trial, as I well knew that the secret manœuvres of the Inquisition were not so easily evaded. When we are young, our inexperience renders all things easy in our eyes; we live in a world of our own, where all is illusion, and are often led by sanguine hope to meet the bitterest disappointment. I trusted to my natural enthusiasm, and to the eloquence that the intimate persuasion of the upright sentiments which actuated all my friends, could not fail to give me. At such a critical moment, I thought it rather advisable that the King should learn from my own lips the existence of a secret society in Spain, particularly if I could also persuade him that it was so skilfully combined that the members who composed it did not know each other, and that, therefore, he would never succeed in discovering their names by intrusting my cause to a tribunal, where I alone would be made the victim; but that if, on the other hand, his Majesty, to save the monarchy from the ruin that threatened it, would secretly place himself at the head of the society, and grant me my liberty that I might act as his agent in this affair, I would give the most effectual guarantees for the security of my person.

When the keepers came to bring my breakfast in the morning, they were accompanied by a familiar of the Inquisition, whom I soon discovered to be the barber, who performed on me his office in their presence. Previous to their withdrawing, they left me clean linen to wear in the evening, and the only uniform that had been saved from the pillage at Murcia.

To judge by the extreme civility shown me by these men, I might have been induced to believe that this was the last day of my imprisonment. At four o'clock in the afternoon they brought me a light, an indulgence which I had never before experienced, and at seven in the evening I heard a noise of doors, caused by the arrival of Arellano, whose appearance was now as gaudy as it was before mean. He wore a dress covered with embroideries and decorations, which the King had lavished on those who at various epochs followed him. His hat, ornamented with a profusion of feathers, seemed nailed to his head, whilst both his hands were thrust into his coat pockets. On seeing me in my uniform, he said fiercely to Don

Marcelino: "What is the meaning of this? Away with that uniform. I will have nothing that may attract attention."

He then withdrew with the jailer for a short time, bringing, on their return, a hussar's frock-coat, which I sometimes wore, and the foraging cap I had on at the time of my arrest. On seeing myself thus attired, I could not help observing that my new dress did not appear to me the most becoming for the august presence of a monarch.

On arriving at the exterior door of the dungeon, Ramirez de Arellano, whom I followed, suddenly turning round, drew his hands from his pockets, and presenting two pistols at my breast, which I might easily have snatched from him, exclaimed, "Beware, for the least indiscretion will cost you your life."

"Take away those arms," I said to him, "and do not dishonour me by treating me as a ruffian." The keeper, no less surprised than myself at this untimely and absurd threat, was [illegible]n bold enough to hint, that in that place such acts of violence were forbidden, and that the prisoners intrusted to his custody were always made to undergo a search which ensured them against all apprehensions. This was but too true; for I had repeatedly been, before this day, subject to these humiliating searches, and deprived of every thing by which I might have effected my destruction; and if I preserved my watch, it was owing to the condescension of the jailers, who, however, had adopted the precaution of taking out the glass, lest it might be used in a moment of desperation.

After this scene, we proceeded through that labyrinth of passages to the apartments of the jailer, where we were joined by a stranger, wrapped up in his cloak. On arriving at the street door, we all four entered the carriage which was waiting for us, my seat being between the jailer and Arellano, who alone interrupted from time to time the silence of the party with the numberless absurdities that came into his head, imagining that this would be the first time in my life I had spoken with a king. Having shortly after arrived at the palace, we ascended to the principal gallery by an unfrequented staircase, and then entered through a secret door, having the appearance of a window, to a small apartment, which communicated with that of the King, and which bears the name of the *Camarilla*. Ramirez de Arellano left us three there, and went in, probably to announce our arrival.

On the stranger throwing aside his cloak, I observed that he wore the uniform of private secretary to the King; and, as I afterwards learned, his name was Villar Frontin. We had been waiting half-an-hour when an elegant young woman passed quickly through the room where we sat, followed by Ramirez de Arellano, who, motioning to the jailer to remain there, desired me and Villar Frontin to follow him, his tremulous hands still thrust in the pockets of his livery coat. On reaching the saloon he cried, "Sire!"

"What is the matter?" inquired a thick voice from within.

"Here is Van Halen," replied Arellano. We were desired to enter, Villar Frontin remaining outside the door of the cabinet. The King was alone, sitting in the only chair that was in the room. As we entered, he rose and advanced a few steps towards us. We found him in a complete négligé, being without a cravat, and his waistcoat wholly unbottoned. Before the arm-chair stood a large table, on which there were various papers, a portfolio, a writing-desk, and heaps of Havannah cigars spread about. Beside the table stood an escritoire, which probably was the same mentioned by Irriberry in which the King had locked my papers. As I approached him, I bent a knee to kiss his hand, according to the usual etiquette; but he raised me, and said, "What do you want? Why do you wish to see me?"

"Sire," I replied, "because I am quite confident that your Majesty, if you would condescend to hear me leisurely, will dismiss those prejudices against me, which you doubtless must have been inspired with, to have ordered the rigorous treatment I have experienced."

"Well, but you belong to a conspiracy, and you ought to reveal it to me. I know it all. Are you not horror-stricken? Who are your accomplices?"

"To desire the good of one's country, Sire, is not conspiring.* I feel no hesitation in revealing to your Majesty those good wishes; on the contrary, I rejoice at having found an opportunity of disclosing them to you. But if your Majesty know all, and know it correctly, there will be nothing more for me to add. Any farther explanation your Majesty may require will only contribute to soften your anger towards me, and to convince you that, if we have hitherto concealed our object from your Majesty, it was to avoid the vengeance of those who are striving to render hateful your illustrious name."

"Who are those who have so wilfully misled you? Tell me who they are—do not hesitate."

"Sire, if your Majesty know all, you must be aware that I have not been misled by any one; but that I have always acted from self-conviction, and that the events of the times and the general mistrust have arrived at such a pitch that I do not personally know any one of those who labour in the same cause."

"But you must know the means by which they are to be discovered. Your duty is to obey me. Choose my favour, or your disgrace."

"Sire, place yourself at our head, and you will then know every one of us."

At these words Ramirez de Arellano came forward foaming with rage, and, raising his hands, exclaimed, in a most insolent and im-

* See note II

proper tone for the presence of a monarch, "To the seed, Sir! to the seed. We want no preambles or sophisms here. There is paper; take this pen, here, here (pushing a pen and a sheet of paper towards me) here, you must write the names of all the conspirators —no roundabouts, no subterfuges. His Majesty is the King of these realms, and there ought to be nothing hidden from him under the sun. I have read the Burroel (he meant the Barruel); I have been in France, and I know what all those factions are. Where are the sacred oaths for your King and your religion?"

During the whole of the time of this furious ranting, I kept my eyes fixed on the King, who seemed converted into a statue from the moment Ramirez commenced speaking; but when I saw him insist on my taking the pen, I said, without even looking at that despicable wretch, "Sire, I know no one."

"Sire, to the Inquisition with him," cried Ramirez. "The tribunal will easily extort them from him."

The king, showing some displeasure at Ramirez's behaviour, said to me, "But it is impossible you should not know them."

"Sire, if I meant to say what I could not prove, or if I wished to conceal a crime, I would rather avoid than seek the presence of my sovereign; but if, being guilty, I sought it, once before your majesty I would profit of the opportunity to ask a pardon which my innocence does not need."

The King remained for a few minutes thoughtful, his eyes fixed on me, and then said; "Tell me by writing whatever you have to say." Another short pause now ensued, after which he took a cigar from the table, lighted it, and asked me if I smoked. On my answering in the affirmative, he said to Arellano, who heard him with displeasure, "Carry him some cigars;" and then motioned me to withdraw. When I took his hand to kiss it, he pressed mine with an air of interest, and as I turned round at the door to make my obeisance, I heard him say, while conversing with Arellano, "What a pity, such a youth! . . ." A thousand times did I afterwards remember this expression. I continued my way alone to the ante-room, where Villar Frontin and the jailer were waiting, and being soon after joined by Ramirez, we proceeded to the carriage, and thence to my fatal dwelling. During our short ride, Arellano was as unmeaningly loquacious as before; but neither my head nor my humour allowed me to give him any reply. I could see in him only one of the many perverse men by whom the King was ruled, and against whom all my efforts must prove ineffectual. I wished to lose sight of a creature so arrogant and depraved; but he only left me when he saw me safely lodged in my dungeon.

On the following morning, when the jailer entered with my breakfast, he brought a small packet containing about two hundred cigars, which, he said, had been delivered to him by a servant from the palace, with a note, saying they were intended for me. At about noon,

the fiscal Zorrilla entered, bringing writing materials and several sheets of paper, ready numbered, and bearing his signature. He informed me he had been ordered to bring them that I might write to his Majesty, and that he would return when I desired, to seal them in my presence, and send them privately to the King. I replied that he might return in a few hours.

On being left alone, I began at once to write without making a rough copy, lest by keeping any of the sheets I might excite suspicion. I commenced my exposition to the king, in a manner in which my good intention compensated for my want of accuracy, by declaring that, convinced of the necessity of delivering his Majesty from the thraldom in which he was kept by those who surrounded him, and having received anonymous letters from persons animated by the same wish, I had entered into a correspondence with them without making any inquiry as to who they were, this being an indispensable condition to become a member of the association. In continuation, I said that many of the papers found among those in his Majesty's possession admitted of no explanation, as I had written them with no other object than mere amusement, and that if I had preserved the rest, it was because I did not see in them any thing that could be construed into treason, or even offend the dignity of the throne: that I was firmly convinced that, if his Majesty would deign to place himself at the head of the association, and suspend all persecution, assigning a period of time sufficient for all the members who composed it to discover themselves privately to him, they would all declare with loyal sincerity their intentions, of whatever nature they might be; and, that I might be instrumental in bringing this about, I hoped his Majesty would be pleased to order my release, having previously received from me such guarantees as should be deemed sufficient: adding, that, were his Majesty to adopt this magnanimous resolution, he would not only calm the general alarm, but effect a complete reconciliation, and at the same time prevent the calamitous results by which the acts of men driven to desperation are usually attended; but that, if his Majesty, acceding to other counsels, disregarded my prayer, he would never succeed in obtaining the principal object of his wishes, as I was entirely ignorant of the name, rank, or even residence of the persons to whom the letters found in my possession belonged.

This was the only means I found to disappoint, not the curiosity or personal inquietude of the King, but the malignant intentions of his unworthy favourites against so many illustrious persons who might be involved in my misfortunes through the letters, lists, and other papers, sold by the perfidious Calvo to the archbishop of Granada, or to the Inquisition.

Lastly, I concluded my exposition by declaring that, far from considering myself criminal, I would ask no other favour from his Majesty, should my anxious wishes not meet his approbation, than

to be removed to another prison, where I might be treated as became a soldier, whose trial did in no way fall under the cognizance of the Inquisition, my detention here being an additional motive for affliction, not only to myself, but to my whole family, and especially to my devout and religious father.

If the King would consult other persons of a different character from that of the ridiculous lacquey who introduced me to his presence, there were some near his person who, assuredly, might make a deeper impression on his mind than the weak prayer issuing from the depths of a dungeon. Of this I was certain, and it was the last hope that remained to me.

At about three, when it was already dark in my dungeon, Zorrilla returned to see if I had finished my letter, which, being ready, he sealed before me, and then withdrew.

The exposition was to be sent by this inquisitor to the Escurial, which is seven leagues from Madrid, for which place the court had set off to celebrate in that monastery, during the first days of November, the solemn obsequies performed there for the catholic Kings, whose remains are deposited in the magnificent pantheon of the convent. This absence of the King, and the numerous consultations which my exposition would occasion, accounted for my remaining for several days ignorant of its results.

Meantime my father, who, as I have already observed, resided with the rest of my family at Madrid, having heard something respecting my arrest at Murcia, became naturally anxious on my account, and commissioned my two brothers to make inquiries. One of them, an aide-de-camp of General Morillo, who had just arrived on a mission at the capital, learned from Irriberry (whom he was in the habit of meeting at the house of one of the first families in Madrid) enough to be convinced that I was no longer at Murcia. Indeed, this general now manifested so great an interest for me, that he had even revealed to my brother the object that had brought him to the capital, where he began to be neglected by the ministry. Anxious to ascertain the fact, my brother hastened to the Inquisition to inquire of the jailers if I was there, and if he could speak to me. Surprised at the singularity of his question, they answered that they did not know such a person ; but on his persisting to see me, alleging that he was my brother, they requested him in a surly manner to withdraw, and not to importune them with any more questions, as they had said enough. Seeing that he could gain no information from them, he desisted from any farther entreaties, saying as he departed, that if, notwithstanding their denial, I was confined there, it would be a consolation for my family to be allowed to supply any thing I might stand in need of, for which purpose he left with them my father's address.

Half doubting the truth of what Irriberry had related about me, from the manner in which the jailers had answered his inquiries.

being little aware that it is the business of their lives to act the hypocrite, he went another day to the office of the inspection of cavalry, thinking he might be more fortunate in his endeavours. On his arriving at the secretary's office, he observed an individual looking over some papers, who, wishing to dissemble the fact of his having been intimate with me, was endeavouring to spell my name, feigning a total ignorance of it. My brother, who knew he had been a comrade of mine, interrupted him by saying, "Van Halen you mean, your former comrade and friend, whose name you seem to have forgotten since he has met with misfortunes," and then left the office without gaining any farther information.

Ten days after my arrival at Madrid, my female servant reached my father's house, and gave my family an account of my imprisonment at Murcia, which, indeed, was the first correct one they had hitherto received; but as she herself was ignorant of my departure from that city, it added little to what they already knew. My father, who very deservedly enjoyed the reputation of a religious man, was intimate with most of the principal ecclesiastics, and even with some of the inquisitors, among whom was the judge Riesco, who was much esteemed by him, and who had an apartment in the Inquisition just above my dungeon. But notwithstanding his frequent visits to these men, the little distance that separated us, and the friendship existing between them, he never obtained from them the secret of my being at Madrid, nor could he ever learn the origin of my misfortunes. In the midst of his affliction, he sought at the foot of the altar the consolation which a deceitful friendship could not afford him; but such was his unsuspecting character, and charitable manner of thinking, that he never for a moment imagined he was deceived by those who boasted of being the teachers of true morality and religion.

No period of the Inquisition had been more favourable than the present to maintain the good opinion in which it was held by some, and the indifference with which it was looked upon by others. The former no longer saw those dreadful human sacrifices, known by the name of *auto-de-fé*, which moved even the hearts of fanatics; and the latter, who had known no other Inquisition than that existing at the time of Godoy, regarded as fictitious all that was reported of its rigours. Meantime the tribunal of the faith sought to maintain these illusions by exercising its horrors with impunity in the silence of its dungeons; and though it is true that it could be considered only as an instrument of tyranny in the hands of the detestable men who obstructed every avenue to the throne, with no other view than self-aggrandizement, it would not become less formidable on that account than it was in the times of the sanguinary Philip II.

CHAPTER VII.

Description of the camarilla—Chamorro, a waterman, becomes the companion of the King—Cabal of the camarilla—Preponderating influence of the Russian ambassador Tachichef at Madrid—Rise of Agustin Ugarte—Character of Don Francisco Benavente—Conduct of the Archbishop of Granada—Mode in which Antonio Calvo betrayed the author—Berdeja, an inquisitor—Eguia appoints a military fiscal for the trial of the author—The examination and *procès verbal*—Diaz Moral escapes to Gibraltar.

HAVING mentioned the camarilla, a slight sketch of it becomes here indispensable.

The camarilla takes its name from a small room in the King's apartments, formerly destined as a sitting-room for the attendants of the second class, whose office was to answer the King's bell. The pleasure which Ferdinand, even from his infancy, always found in the company of the lowest and most vulgar servants of the royal household, made him so often frequent this place, that at last it became the general rendezvous of his friends, at the head of which was Chamorro, a fellow who had been a waterman the greater part of his life, and who accompanied the King to France in a very inferior situation. There also figured Ramirez de Arellano, who, from a shoe-black of the royal household, had ascended to the office of spy on both sexes, and was afterwards invested with the public character of chamberlain to his Majesty, as well as with that of honorary familiar of the Holy Office. As it was in the camarilla where most favours and offices were dispensed, all the swarm of ambitious intriguers flocked there to obtain admittance; so that the ante-rooms of the ministers were deserted, their porters lost their scandalous perquisites, and the ancient monopoly of the clerks in the offices of the secretary of state was annulled. Soon a numerous *tertulia* (an evening society), composed of monks, inquisitors, counsellors, servile and mercenary poets, military sycophants, and a few Americans on the look-out for places, and enemies to the independence of their country, was formed in the camarilla. These were the elements with which the secret society, called by some *The Anchor of the Faith and of the King*, began their labours.

It was not long before they established a regular plan of communication with all the captains-general of the provinces, the subaltern tribunals of the Inquisition, and especially with General Elio at Valencia, and with the Archbishop of Granada, the personal enemy of Count Montijo, who at the time of my arrest had been already deprived of his government.

Such were the men who held the reins of government, when the most distant cabinet of Europe, which one would have thought the

least interested in the destiny of Spain, began to assume an ascendancy in that ocean of disorders. The ridiculous brokerage of a few rotten ships of war, negotiated by the Russian government, was the first step by which the Russian ambassador Tachichef obtained an insight into the interior affairs of the government. The influence which he afterwards exerted was such, that even the camarilla—the great dispenser of favours and places, at whose mercy was the life and fate of every Spaniard—became as submissive to his will as a faction of Cossacks might have been. It was in vain that the higher nobility of Spain openly manifested their contempt for an ambassador who associated himself with the most depraved and low-born men of the capital. Those who have any knowledge of Agustin Ugarte, once a porter in the embassy of the much-esteemed Strogonoff, and who have seen him afterwards, dressed more like a harlequin than a courtier, introduced by Tachichef into the palace, and going arm in arm with him through those royal galleries, will easily believe that in a court like that of Spain, where so much etiquette is observed, such conduct on the part of the ambassador would not fail to draw upon him the scorn of every well-educated man. I never knew Ugarte personally; but the public voice, which stigmatizes only when there exists a cause, represents him as the most despicable being who could ever have been chosen by any man to advance his own views; but who, having succeeded in moulding the camarilla, as well as the King's mind, according to his pleasure, proved thereby that the united intellect of the whole party did not amount to the very contracted one of Ugarte's.

The council of the supreme, its chief, the inquisitor-general, the subaltern tribunals, the familiars, all were at the disposal of the camarilla, who hoped to derive from them even more wealth than formerly flowed from the Americas; because the arbitrary decrees, fulminated in secret by the Holy Office, sufficed to give an appearance of legality to the proceedings which they would gradually have instituted against the richest proprietors and nobility of the country to get possession of their fortunes, as had been done at the time when the Inquisition was first established.

Such was the state of public affairs when I fell into the hands of this tribunal. I have already mentioned that Don Antonio Calvo was chief of the customs at Velez Rubio, and an intimate friend of the mayor Don Francisco Benavente, with whom he spent most of his time; but they were very differently situated in point of fortune. Benavente was a wealthy proprietor, and of one of the best families of the province. He was an enlightened and liberal man, an agreeable and entertaining companion. Calvo had no other resources than his office; this once lost, he had neither sufficient solidity of character to support a reverse of this nature, nor industry to supply honourably the want of fortune. He possessed the art of dissembling to the highest degree, as I learned to my sorrow.

and a certain cleverness, which he had acquired at Madrid, in the house of a grandee of Spain where he had been brought up, and which goes a great way with men who are not in the habit of looking beyond the surface. I have never been able to learn positively what motives induced him to commit the treachery which he had already premeditated, when he came to my house at Murcia, lamenting the loss of his office, and asking my assistance. I have heard there was a certain priest of Velez Rubio who had a share in this affair, and who succeeded in influencing his mind at the time he lost his situation; and that Benavente, rather through timidity than from a wish to become an accomplice, gave such explanations of his limited acquaintance with me as screened him from danger; his fears preventing him from communicating to me, as in honour he was bound to do, the suspicions he entertained against Calvo. The truth is, that this traitor, wishing to get possession of all the papers and documents which might serve to accomplish his treachery, and having, as if by fatality, obtained from me the case which contained them, went triumphantly to Granada, accompanied by the priest of Velez Rubio, where he presented himself to the archbishop, and delivered to him the case intrusted to his care.

The archbishop, who was anxious to offer victims to the rapacity of the camarilla, and who thought this a good opportunity to involve Count Montijo and other wealthy persons in my misfortunes, joyfully received the case, and instructed Calvo as to the conduct he was to pursue in delivering the two letters of recommendation I had given him, and in obtaining as much information from the two gentlemen to whom they were addressed, as might impeach them, as well as several other persons of my acquaintance. On the following day, Calvo called upon them, and faithfully following the instructions of the archbishop, learned, not indeed all that he wished, but sufficient to know that their opinions agreed with mine. The archbishop, having examined all the papers contained in the box, and added his own observations on the similarity of the handwriting of some of the letters, &c., resolved that Calvo, accompanied by an inquisitor of Granada, called Berdeja, a man very well adapted for this mission, should go post to Madrid, and present to the coryphœus of the camarilla the document obtained by the blackest perfidy of that vile Judas.

On their arrival at the capital, the mission with which they were intrusted was soon accomplished. Berdeja, who had good reasons to expect that his journey would be productive of personal advantage, was desired to remain at Madrid, and Calvo was detained, I know not whether in a private house, or in a prison, under the appearance of criminality. On the King learning from the camarilla the importance attached by the Archbishop of Granada to this affair, and on hearing the glossary of the emissary Berdeja, he instructed Eguia immediately to issue his orders to the captain-general

Elio to proceed to my arrest in the manner which has already been detailed.

Whatever might be the charges which our oppressors chose to bring against me, it was very evident that not one proof could be gathered from the papers in their possession, by which I might be attainted of high treason, much less could I be accused of any crime against the religion which I professed. Notwithstanding these facts, instead of being detained in a military prison, as I had a right to expect, supposing that I were really guilty, I was immured in dungeons which for so many ages had caused the ruin and dishonour of the most virtuous families of the kingdom, and where I could expect no justice.

The King, who, as I have already mentioned, had left Madrid for the Escurial, received my exposition on the evening of the same day on which it was written; but surrounded as he was by Arellano and his camarilla friends, he formed no other opinion of its contents than that which was suggested by them. Anxious to discover new victims, they sought in it the names of those who in their imaginations were my accomplices; but being disappointed in their expectations, they gave the greatest possible importance to the observations written on the margin of my papers by the Archbishop of Granada, and worked on the King's mind till he sanctioned the violent measures which they had projected against me, and which they termed energetical conduct. Some doubts, however, being raised respecting certain passages of my papers, they ordered Berdeja to present himself at the Escurial that he might explain them, which being done to their satisfaction, it was finally resolved that I should be given up to the tribunal. Orders being issued to this effect, the minister of war Eguia, to whom some of them had been addressed, wishing to be more thoroughly informed on the subject, succeeded, notwithstanding the strong opposition offered by the Camarilla, in causing the King to annul his first decree, and appointed a military fiscal in whom he reposed his whole confidence, and who was the same man who filled that office in the trial of the commissary Richard.

Displeased with this measure, the Camarilla, who were of the same opinion with the Archbishop of Granada, that no time should be lost in instituting proceedings against me lest any delay gave their intended victims time to place themselves out of their reach, represented to the King that three days were sufficient for the Inquisition to discover the whole plot. But Eguia, who was no less impatient to fill the dungeons with officers of the army, and who knew that the Inquisition would not give him a daily account of their operations, though it might to the Camarilla, among the members of which were some in whom this cunning old man placed no confidence, urged that every thing tended to a military insurrection, and that, as an armed force would be required to check it, it was

indispensable he should hold the key of this important affair, that none might elude his prompt resolutions, hoping that by having a fiscal entirely devoted to him, and whose iniquities recommended him to Arellano and his friends, every thing would be conducted according to his pleasure. Meanwhile, the King was the one who figured least; to him all appeared to be actuated by zeal and fidelity to his person, consequently my representations had no chance of success in this contention. I was rather the prey which those cannibals disputed among themselves.

On the 25th of October, at ten in the morning, the jailer Don Marcelino entered my dungeon, followed by two military men, and bringing chairs and materials for writing. When I first saw them, I thought that my explanation had been favourably received by the King, and that I was to be delivered to a military tribunal. Both officers belonged to the regiment of infantry of Valençey, one of them being a lieutenant colonel, of about forty years of age, having nothing martial either in his countenance or manners, though he assumed an air of importance, which but ill suited the ignoble appearance of his person. The other was a young subaltern, better looking, and with the true mien of a soldier. When the former had prepared the paper on which my declarations were to be written, he broke the silence which he had observed on entering. "I am," said he, "the fiscal appointed by his excellency the minister of war, to draw up the verbal process which is to be instituted against you. That gentleman," pointing to his companion, "is the secretary whom I have chosen."

Having thus explained the object of his visit, he proceeded to put to me the usual questions, such as my name, age, rank, &c. concluding by asking me if I knew the cause of my imprisonment. I answered them all, remarking on the last, that I was ignorant of it. In continuation, he desired me to state all the circumstances that had happened at the time of my arrest, showing a great curiosity to know where I was when the brigade-general Irriberry presented himself at my house, to execute his Majesty's orders. I gave him a detailed account, observing, with respect to his last question, that my regard for a person who had nothing to do with my present misfortunes forbade my answering it. He then asked what suspicions I entertained, which induced me to absent myself that night from my home. I replied that I had none, and that my return home, and the dishabille in which I was found, were sufficient proofs of it. He now inquired if I had no other papers than those which had been seized, and whether I should know these again on seeing them. I replied that I should recognise them; but that it was impossible for me to say whether there were others. Of this I was certain, that none of them were of importance.

He then cautiously drew from his pocket a paper, which he perused for some time, and afterwards continued his interrogatory,

asking me successively if I knew Don José Esbry, where I had first seen him, and what acquaintance I had with him; making similar inquiries respecting Don Serafin del Rio, Don Francisco Benavente, Don Antonio Calvo, Don José Diaz Moral (whom I supposed to be the fugitive), and Don Nicolas Rosique, who was one of the two gentlemen for whom I had given Calvo letters of recommendation. I answered him that I knew them all, but that my acquaintance with them was but slight. He then inquired if I had had any correspondence with them, and for what object, with many other questions which, being trifling, have now escaped my memory.

I remembered very well that, when I wrote to Calvo relative to the box containing my papers, I said to him in that letter, (which could not have reached him at Granada, but which I supposed was in the hands of government) that since Benavente would not take charge of my papers, I begged him to deliver them to Diaz Moral, who was the other gentleman for whom I had given him a letter of recommendation. As, however, my original plan was always to appear ignorant of the person who had betrayed me, I confined myself, when questioned about Calvo, to an account of the manner in which I had treated him when he came to Murcia. The secretary who wrote down all I said, involuntarily started, as if struck with horror at the ungrateful conduct of that abhorred traitor. This was not perceived by the fiscal; but I was too attentive to the motions of both for that impulse to escape me.

At this stage of the interrogatory, the fiscal called Don Marcelino, (who did not appear much pleased with his situation of plantoon at the exterior door) and asked him if there was not a more convenient table or place where to continue the examination; to which he answered, that the inquisitors would be better able to inform him.

He took the hint, and they all withdrew, leaving me in my dungeon, where I employed myself in combining the most trifling details of this with the other interrogatories which I knew would succeed.

At about 10 on the following morning, the jailer came to my dungeon, and desired me to follow him. We went through two passages, and ascended a flight of stairs that led to a third, at the end of which was a spacious saloon. Here I found the fiscal and his secretary seated at a large table, round which were several armchairs. On my entering, Don Marcelino withdrew, and the examination commenced. The fiscal began by silently perusing his private instructions, and, after various impertinent questions, came to the subject of the papers, untying a bundle of them, which was lying on the table, and among which I observed my exposition to the King. He took the inventory which had been made in the Inquisition of Murcia, and asked me in the same order, whether I acknowledged those papers as mine. Having answered them all

in the affirmative, he desired me to sign them again, and then assuming an air of importance, said that he recommended me to answer frankly whatever questions he chose to ask me, as otherwise I might be certain of rendering my situation still worse, and that any subterfuge would only degrade me in his eyes, and in those of his Majesty.

I begged him to confine himself to his duties, for that, from the beginning, I had shown his Majesty that I knew mine. "The papers which you intrusted to Don Antonio Calvo," said he, "have all been seized, and he has been arrested." This he uttered as if a secret had escaped him, but after a pause added, "It is useless for you to endeavour to shield this individual, for every thing concerning him is now discovered. Would you then acknowledge the papers if they were shown you?"

On my answering in the affirmative, he put his hand under the table, which had on it a velvet covering, and drawing out the same box, which I had delivered to Calvo, asked, "Do you know this box? Is it not yours?"

On my admitting the fact, he began successively to draw out of the case the papers, and to present them to me, that I might declare whether they were mine. I told him that in order to do this properly, it was indispensable for me to look carefully over them, to which he subscribed, and I profited, by this circumstance, of the only advantage that was left me in my isolated situation, namely, of reading over the multitude of papers in their possession, that I might be better able to meet the charges which would be brought against me. This lengthened our examination so much, that its conclusion was postponed to the following day, a delay which I anxiously desired, as it was impossible for me, notwithstanding all my care, to retain in my mind the numberless minute circumstances which each of the papers embraced; the more so, as I found them in the most disordered state, which I suspected had been done with the view of defeating what I now attempted. It was quite dark when the fiscal suspended his interrogatory, which had lasted for seven hours without intermission, during which they took no other refreshment than a glass of wine and a biscuit.

I was then reconducted to my dungeon, where dinner was served me; but of which I did not taste, wishing to profit by the light usually left me till the last visit, in order to make a few notes on the wall, with my watch-key, on the most remarkable points of the papers which I had just looked over. The jailer came at the usual hour to take away the light, and I spent the whole night struggling with the agitation of my mind.

The multitude of papers contained in the box prolonged the examination for several successive days, during which I endured more mental suffering than I can well describe, the coarse and abusive language of the fiscal adding fresh bitterness to my wretched

situation. In vain, to check the insolence with which he every moment outraged my feelings, I had insisted, from the commencement of the interrogatory, on having all he said written down, in the hope that he would not like my judges to read all he uttered. A stranger to every honourable sentiment, and disregarding the moderation with which I replied to his taunts, he persisted in his system of abuse from first to last, rendering his presence more odious to me than was even the darkness of my dungeon.

At length, the examination being concluded, I signed the various interrogatories which had been written by the secretary, whom I desired to add the following clause as indicative of my firm intentions:—"I have nothing to alter in, or add to, what I have already expressed, both in the exposition addressed by me to his Majesty, in consequence of the audience he was pleased to grant me, and in the interrogatories which I have since undergone; and, moreover, I protest against the nature of my present confinement, which I consider as degrading to, and improper for, the military class to which I belong."

Although, while dictating the above, the fiscal attempted several times to interrupt me, I would not desist from my purpose, and the secretary wrote it in my own words, when I again put my signature to this declaration. Every thing being now concluded, the fiscal closed the scene by delivering me to Don Marcelino, with whom I returned to my dungeon, in the silence of which I was to experience again the incertitude of the former week.

At Granada the searches after Diaz Moral had been fruitless, as, fortunately, being warned of the danger by an officer who commanded one of the parties employed in his pursuit, he had succeeded in escaping to Gibraltar; so that up to this time (the 30th of Oct.), Serafin del Rio, and Esbry, who had remained in the prisons of Murcia, were the only two who had been arrested. Copies of the verbal process instituted against them were sent to the inquisitors of Madrid, that they might see if there existed any coincidence between their declarations and mine. As I have already mentioned, Serafin had agreed with me upon what he was to declare; but with respect to Esbry, I had only the hope that he would persist in denying every thing, although I feared that his intimacy with Calvo offered a serious obstacle. I have never learned what his declarations were; but if they ever gave the inquisitors a greater insight into the contents of my papers, and enabled them to increase the number of the prisoners, as well as the charges brought against me, we ought to reflect on the isolated situation in which he remained from the first instant of his arrest, to acquit him of the charge of pusillanimity.

CHAPTER VIII.

Villar Frontin urges the author to disclose the names of his partisans—Pablo Mier, bishop of Almeria and inquisitor-general, obtains the charge of the prisoner, and the dismissal of the military fiscal—Tribunal of inquisitors before whom the author appears—Arms of the Inquisition—Proceedings—An anecdote of the Inquisition, related by the jailer—Renewed interrogatory by Esperanza—Attempt to force the author to implicate several respectable and noble individuals—He screens the Count Montijo and others.

SEVEN days had now elapsed since my last interview with the fiscal; during which I was lost in conjectures, being unable to gain any information from Don Marcelino respecting the state of my trial, when, on the night of the sixth of November, I received an unexpected visit. Villar Frontin, the King's secretary, who with Arellano had accompanied me to the palace, entered my dungeon, and desiring Don Marcelino to return in two hours' time, remained alone with me. He explained in a few words the nature of his mission; which was, to induce me to make the disclosures desired by his Majesty, respecting the individuals who composed the secret societies, delivering to me, in a clear and concise manner, the opinion he had formed of my case from the examination of all the documents on which my trial was grounded; adding, that the King, on his return from the Escurial, had put into his hands other papers relating to me, by which it was evident that I was placed in a most critical situation, and that he knew of no other means of my extricating myself from it than by complying with his Majesty's wish, as he saw that otherwise the King was resolved to deliver me up to the rigour of the tribunal.

Villar Frontin was a man in the prime of life, and of pleasing appearance; and though the nature of his visit was so truly distressing to me, yet as I thought I discovered in him certain indications of sensibility, which, indeed, were the first I had seen in that cave of despair, I did not hesitate in making an appeal to his heart, with all the energy that my wounded honour, and the sacred duties which I had voluntarily entered into, dictated to me. I explained to him the painful dilemma in which his Majesty's wish placed me, and how preferable I thought the most cruel death to the bitter alternative of causing a number of innocent victims to be thrown into dungeons; since by being thus rigorously compelled to make disclosures, the foundation of which could rest only on the most superficial conjectures, it was converting myself into an instrument of persecution, and rendering my memory hateful among my countrymen. I repeated to him again and again, that rather than

act the part of a denunciator, I would resignedly undergo the most excruciating tortures of the Inquisition; and that I should consider an immediate death as an act of mercy. Indeed, so great was my agony at this moment, that language seemed inadequate to express my feelings. Villar Frontin, moved at my distress, remained silent and motionless for some mintues, his eyes fixed on mine with a degree of interest which I certainly did not expect from one in his situation. "Do not be distressed, Van Halen," he said; "I understand you, and do not share the opinion of those by whom you are oppressed. I do you the justice to believe you innocent. We are alone: no one can hear us, and you are worthy of receiving from me a proof of confidence. I am incapable," he added with emotion, placing his hand on his heart, "of persisting in the unpleasant commission with which I have been charged by his Majesty, and which must appear to you in detriment of my honour. But it is really a pity to see you sacrifice yourself to an erroneous system, the theory of which is certainly seductive, but which is totally impracticable. He who, like myself, has in other times professed liberal ideas, and who has experienced their futility, knows too well the enormous distance there is between moral and political notions, to act in all cases according to both. If we were all enlightened, Satan himself would not be able to govern us. Our countrymen, however, are too ignorant to be ruled otherwise than by an iron sceptre; and a long time will elapse before they may be brought to understand their own interests. Till that epoch arrives, which can only take place when the King himself decides in its favour, we must all sail with the current of circumstances. You are younger than myself, and are a military man; but I have been a judge, and have seen much of human nature, consequently I know something of its ruling passions and characteristic points. I am convinced that, if you die, your friends will be consoled by knowing that they are delivered from the fears which night and day disturb their repose. Believe me, this is a truth proceeding from a man of experience; but you shall find me more a friend than a seducer.—Let us smoke a cigar, and converse of other matters." He then spoke of some love-letters of mine, which had been found among my papers, two of which had been preserved by the King, who was amused by their contents; and afterwards related to me various anecdotes of the court, and of some persons who interested themselves in my destiny.

Don Marcelino having made his appearance, Villar Frontin took leave of me, and I never saw him again.

I ought to observe here, that many of the occurrences which took place in the Camarilla respecting me, and are now found inserted in this narrative according to the course of events, were communicated to me on my return to Spain by some friends of mine, who were connected with the men in power. Villar Frontin's

visit to my dungeon, however, was for some time a secret between him and the King, Arellano himself being ignorant of it till the inquisitors mentioned it to him. This man, actuated by the basest envy against the King's secretary,* put every spring into action to prevent him from having any part in this affair ; in which he thought none but he and his friends had a right to interfere.

The bishop of Almeria, Don Pablo Mier, then the inquisitor-general, remonstrated with the King, declaring, that the conduct observed on that occasion was an insult to the Holy Office, whose judges were justly offended at the preference given to a military fiscal by allowing him to examine a prisoner confined in the Inquisition. This remonstrance had the desired effect, and on the 12th of November the King gave his consent that the cause should be resigned into their hands, from which time my existence remained exclusively at their mercy.

Ever since the King sent me the packet of cigars, Don Marcelino had every evening spent half an hour in my company ; and to amuse ourselves usefully, I proposed his learning the French language, which he seemed anxious to attain. On the night of the 13th, however, I saw nothing of him ; and on the following day his reserve on one hand, and the cheerful countenance of his vile colleague, Don Juanito, on the other, led me to suspect that some important change was about to take place.

Indeed, the tribunal was preparing for that night. From the re-establishment of the modern Inquisition, no instance had ever occurred of a nocturnal sitting. At seven o'clock the two jailers came into my dungeon in full dress, and with swords girded at their waists, preceded by Zorrilla, who commanded them to search me. This they did with their usual rudeness ; after which the inquisitor ordered me, in a haughty manner, to follow him. I obeyed in silence, proceeding through the same passages and stairs that conducted to the saloon where I had attended the military fiscal. Having left this to the right, we entered a larger one, which was the hall of the tribunal, at the farther extremity of which stood a long table on a platform, with the seats of the inquisitors near it, that of the president being under a canopy. On each side of the platform was a door, communicating with a closet ; and opposite to it the entrance to the chapel. A large cross with a palm and a sword transversely placed, bearing this motto, *Exsurge, Domine, et judica causam tuam*, which constitute the arms of the Inquisition, stood in the middle of the table, on which were burning a number of wax lights, a heap of papers lying on a corner of it, where the fiscal took his seat. I did not see any black tapers, neither was the

* Although Villar Frontin himself belonged to the Camarilla, his humanity being incompatible with the feelings that actuated the rest of its members, he was in the following year banished from Madrid by the King, through the intrigues of his own companions.

saloon hung with cloth of that colour, as I had heard was the case: all the blackness was concentrated in the hearts of my judges.

Immediately after entering the hall I was led to the platform to take the oath, which I did by placing my hand on the cross, which was laid down on the table for that purpose, and repeating after the senior inquisitor (who was the same old man I had seen on the night of my arrival at Madrid) an immensely long creed on all the mysteries of the Catholic religion, and on the duties it imposes towards the inferior deities of the earth, &c. The ceremony being concluded, the fiscal ordered me to fall back to the centre of the saloon, where a stool was placed for me, the jailers standing on each side of it.

On my sitting down, Zorrilla delivered, in the midst of a profound silence, a discourse, which was chiefly distinguished by its immoderate length, artful arrangement, and pomposity of language, and in which all my papers, replies to the interrogatories, and exposition to the King underwent the most minute and severe comments, every sentence of which seemed dictated by rancour and malevolence. These were still more violently manifested when he touched upon the protest with which I had closed the interrogatories. In their eyes it was a crime that a soldier should complain of being detained prisoner among priests and friars. On Zorrilla ending his discourse, he commenced his examination, which was so skilfully prepared, that my answers were limited to a simple *yes* or *no*; as, "Is not such a person the writer of this letter? Was it not you who cut out the signature of this other? Will you deny that these belong to the brigade-general Torrijos?" &c. Such was uniformly the style of his interrogatory. All my answers, however, coincided with those I had given to the military fiscal; and although I felt greatly embarrassed at some of these direct questions, particularly when the letters of General Torrijos were presented to me, (the signatures of which I had preserved, as they treated merely on matters of amusement; but through which circumstance the inquisitors were enabled to discover the one bearing no signature which he had written to me previous to my clandestine departure from Murcia to Ronda, and in which he expressed sentiments of the purest patriotism)—I succeeded in defeating the hopes of my judges, who proudly imagined they would be able to extort from me dishonourable denunciations.

During the whole of that long sitting, Zorrilla was the only one who spoke and questioned me: now and then Esperanza leaned his head, and whispered something into his ear; but neither the senior inquisitor, nor Riesco, uttered a word. It was past ten when the fiscal addressed his discourse to the judges, the words of which, however, I did not very distinctly hear; after which he begged leave of the senior inquisitor to have my signature subjoined to what the secretary of the Inquisition had taken down, and which, without

being read over to me, I was desired to sign. The senior inquisitor then ordered the jailors to reconduct me to my dungeon; but before leaving the hall, I addressed the tribunal for the purpose of being informed whether it was now time for me to name my advocate, as was the invariable practice in every trial. "Whom would you name?" interrupted Zorrilla with the utmost eagerness.

"An advocate of Madrid," I replied, "who has known me for several years."

"What is his name? Where does he live?" again inquired Zorrilla, almost breathless.

"Don Pedro Maria Cano; he lives in the street of Preciados."

I had no hesitation in mentioning his name, notwithstanding the danger there was in hinting even remotely the name of any individual in the presence of these men; because Cano was not involved in my political compromise, nor were his connections in Madrid such as to render him a suspicious character in the eyes of government.

On Zorrilla hearing that gentleman's name, he said, in a disappointed tone, "No, it cannot be. When the time for your appointing an advocate arrives, a list will be presented to you, in which you will find the names of three belonging to the Holy Office, out of which you may select one;—no one else is permitted to advocate in this tribunal."

As he uttered the last words, he cast on me a haughty and contemptuous look, and motioned to the jailers to take me away, which they did by nearly dragging me out, without allowing me to speak another word.

The excessive agitation of my mind, and the thirst which tormented me during the whole of that night, and which I was unable to quench, owing to the seemingly intentional neglect of the jailers in leaving the jug empty which was usually filled with water, prevented my taking a moment's repose.

My humour, soured by the treatment I received, showed itself to those by whom I was guarded, and did not fail to bring back upon me their displeasure, which they had the power to make me feel in a thousand different ways. Don Marcelino, who, as I have already observed, was less fit to exercise the violences belonging to his office than his companion, did not come so frequently on the following day as he had been in the habit of doing; so that I was obliged to endure the presence of Don Juanito, even during my dinner, which he contrived to render as unpleasant to me as had been the sitting of the preceding night. Wearied of hearing so many insolent remarks, I desired him to hold his peace; but this had a contrary effect to what I expected. Assuming more than ever an air of humility, he said with his usual feminine voice, which, coming from a tall and corpulent man, made him appear very ridiculous,—"He will gain nothing here who behaves ill to us: we

have a remedy for every disease. I recollect that when I was still a boy, and the father-in-law of Don Marcelino the chief jailer, there was a French jeweller confined in these prisons, who was a most pertinacious heretic. He took it into his head to deny every thing to the Holy Tribunal, and to behave uncivilly to the jailers; and finally refused to take any food or see any one. One day, when his dungeon was to be cleaned, and himself removed to another, the jailer, on opening the gates, found him armed with a log of wood which he had torn from the side of the bed, and with which he threatened to knock him down, if he attempted to enter. Perhaps, you imagine," he added, with a satisfied air, "that that *gabacho** had his own way, and was left there to die, cursing like a renegade, and without confessing his crime? Not so indeed; the jailer locked the doors without attempting to disarm him, and informed the fiscal of it, who immediately caused six soldiers to come from the square of Santo Domingo, close by, where a *corps de garde* was stationed; and first administering to them the oath of secrecy, ordered them to the dungeon of the heretic to secure him. The first of the soldiers who went in was knocked down by the Frenchman; but Don Marcelino's father-in-law, who was a man of uncommon resolution and resources, suddenly armed the soldiers with lighted torches, which proved more useful than their bayonets or any other weapon. No sooner these men commenced dabbing his face with the lights than that son of Lucifer remained a moment stupified, and the next was rolling on the ground. No resistance after that; he was as quiet as a lamb, whilst a strong pair of fetters and another pair of manacles prevented his showing his tricks again, though at last he died of despair, without manifesting the least contrition; so great was the influence which the devil exerted over his soul."

It is not very surprising if, with such stories as the above to season my repast, I felt more disgust than appetite for what was placed before me. On that night no light was allowed me, though it was customary to leave me one during the early part of the evening. On the following day I was again attended at dinner by the same jailer, who did every thing in his power to render it as disagreeable as possible, when, towards the end of it, he was relieved by Don Marcelino. My feelings had been wrought up to such a pitch, that when his companion remained alone with me, I could not refrain from exclaiming, "Would to God I could one day see this place reduced to ashes!" At these words he fixed his eyes on me, but remained silent, and his silence was that of an honest man; for never did the inquisitors express a knowledge of my imprudent anathema, though, as Don Juanito had informed me, even on that

* Nick-name given in Spain to Frenchmen.

day, the jailers of the Holy Office were obliged to report to the tribunal all that the prisoners uttered.

It is impossible for me not to feel indignant at relating the occurrences that took place in those days of agony and despair, and at the premeditated cruelty displayed by every individual belonging to that unchristian and horrible tribunal.

At six o'clock in the evening of this day, the 16th of November, Zorrilla again entered my dungeon, accompanied by the two jailers, who were armed as on the preceding night, and conducted me to the hall of the tribunal. I was desired to sit down on the stool placed for me in the middle of the hall, my two guards standing on each side of me. Zorrilla was so hoarse, that his colleague Esperanza was obliged to perform the duties of his office, while the former employed himself in writing: with respect to the other members of the tribunal, they appeared more like statues than judges. During a short interval of silence, I heard a noise proceeding from one of the closets beside the platform, the door of which I observed was not shut quite close,—a circumstance which proved to me that somebody was concealed there witnessing the proceedings.*

When Esperanza had exhausted all his questions, the tenor of which was similar to those his colleague had addressed to me on the previous night, and he had sought by different arguments to extort from me the denunciations for which they manifested so much eagerness, he asked me in a direct manner if I had answered the letters which I said I had received anonymously, and with their signatures erased or cut out. Unconscious that they had any proofs of the contrary, I replied in the same terms as I had done on previous occasions. Esperanza then took some papers and a light from the table, and approaching me, desired one of the jailers to hold the candle, while he showed me several pages composed of little bits of written paper, which were sewn together on very thin tissue paper, sufficiently transparent to allow what was written on the back to be read with ease.—"That hand-writing," said he, "is yours;—is it not?"

I immediately recognised it; but there was no other resource left me than to deny it; accordingly I replied in the negative.—"What?—Look well—read it," he returned,—leaving the papers in my hands, and resuming his seat.

The treacherous Calvo had had the villany to collect all those pieces of papers which formed the rough copies of various letters, and which with several others had been thrown aside by me to be burnt, and with incredible labour he put them together in order to be better able to accomplish his perfidious designs. They amounted

* Some persons are of opinion that the individual concealed there was the King; but I have always thought it was Calvo, with whom every moment I expected to be confronted.

in all to eight pages, and contained, among others, some copies of letters I had written to Torrijos, and to other persons of importance, whose names, however, were suppressed, but who nevertheless were therein represented as well known.

Though I thought it probable I might be confronted with Calvo, I returned the papers to Esperanza, openly denying they were mine. At hearing this declaration, he could hardly contain his rage: he burst into abusive language and threats, affirming they were in my hand-writing.—"Mark me, Sir," he added, "you are mistaken if you think that any of us will ever fail to do his duty; nor are we in want of the means to compel you to declare what you infamously, but vainly, attempt to conceal."

Vain, were, indeed, all my endeavours to confine their charges to myself. The object of their questions was not so much to obtain an explanation of the isolated accusations that might be proved against myself, as to extort from me the names of persons who might become the more wealthy objects of their eager pursuit after riches, and of their thirst for blood.

Esperanza now gave me to read another paper on which were written the names of more than five hundred persons, many of whom were generals, men of title, and even courtiers, with the generality of whom I had never had the remotest connexion: indeed, there were several (among others, the Prince of Anglona) whom I had never seen. In reading this list, it was impossible for me not to show a degree of surprise, and feel a secret alarm at seeing the names of so many respectable persons (some of whom really were members of our association) in the hands of those detestable and cruel men. This was remarked by them, when Esperanza, receiving from me the list, asked if I was acquainted with all the individuals mentioned in it. I replied that I knew only a few of them, but that even with those few I had scarcely had any acquaintance.

"This Holy Tribunal requires straight-forward answers," cried Esperanza: "we do not here understand such doubtful words as *scarcely*.—With whom among these persons had you any connexion?"

"It is not possible for me," I replied, "to repeat the names of those with whom I became acquainted at different periods without reading the list a second time."

Esperanza then read it, and I named those persons with whom it was publicly known I was acquainted, inadvertently omitting, however, the Count Montijo. On this being perceived by the inquisitor, he again read the list through; and I, immediately guessing the intention with which it was done, mentioned that nobleman's name, as well as others which I had accidentally passed over; my connexion with the Count being too well-known, and sufficiently justified by the humane conduct he had pursued towards me at the

time of my first arrest, when, without his timely interference, I should have fallen a victim to my enemies.

When the list had been read through, Esperanza questioned me so closely respecting Montijo, that it was easy to see how eager he and his friends were to implicate the Count in the present charge; but as none of the papers in their possession alluded even remotely to the secret intimacy which at that time existed between us, the efforts of the inquisitor proved ineffectual. Similar questions were then put to me respecting other individuals, which I also succeeded in eluding.

It was half-past nine when the interrogatory terminated, and I was desired to sign as on the preceding night. While engaged in this ceremony, I had an opportunity of observing the countenances of these *holy* judges. In those of the two members of the Camarilla, namely Zorrilla and Esperanza, rage and malevolence were strongly depicted; in that of the senior inquisitor the weight of years, joined to the exhaustion produced by that long sitting, which could not but be highly irksome for a decrepit old man, who was shortly to be called away from that *hell* over which he presided; whilst in that of Riesco a certain air of interest and compassion was observable. At that time I was not at all aware of the friendship existing between this inquisitor and my afflicted father: hence, though I remarked the contrast his countenance offered to those of his colleagues, and respected the man, I did not feel for him the same regard which I should otherwise have entertained.

Having signed as I was desired, I was reconducted to my dungeon.

CHAPTER IX.

Tests administered by the inquisitors—Their disappointment—Feeling exhibited by the jailer Marcelino—Extreme dejection of the sufferer—His anxious thoughts—Fever—Insolence of Zorrilla—Indifference of the judges to his physical sufferings from disease—Pizarro, secretary of state—The author's mother appeals to Garay in favour of her son—She next intercedes with the King himself—His cruel answers—Palafox—Riesco, the inquisitor, displaced—Berdeja succeeds to the vacant post—Anecdotes of Ferdinand VII, and of Garay.

On the night of the 18th, the tribunal sat somewhat later than usual.

The first thing I observed on entering the hall was Riesco's seat (of whom I saw nothing more) occupied by a new inquisitor, whose name, as I afterwards learned, was Berdeja, and whose countenance that of a furious fanatic. Being desired to approach the table, Zorrilla administered to me the same oath I had taken on a former occasion, obliging me to go through a multitude of extravagant cere-

monies, and to repeat after him a long set of prayers, when he added —"Do you swear to having strictly adhered to the truth in all the answers and declarations you have given to this holy tribunal?"

"I swear."

"Do you swear," he continued, "being aware of the religious duties of which you have been just reminded, and as an apostolic Roman Catholic, to have either intentionally or unintentionally omitted nothing, however trifling, that might tend to conceal or shield any person, fact, or crime against the majesty of God and of the King?"

"I swear."

"Do you swear it with a truly catholic conscience? Are you quite sure you have forgotten nothing? Do you wish to be allowed time to reconsider it?"

"I swear as a catholic, as a Spaniard, and as an honest man, that I believe to have forgotten nothing important in all the answers and declarations I have given before this tribunal."

"Then sign your name."

I took the pen that was handed to me, and signed. The countenance of every one of my judges reddened with passion; I could see a ferocious sternness spreading over their features, and by the restlessness of their looks and motions, that they panted for the hour of my destruction. No sooner had I done signing, than Zorrilla motioned with an air of impatience to the jailers, who, immediately advancing towards me, seized my arms, and with very wide leather straps bound them tightly together from the elbows to the wrists. The extreme indignation I felt at such treatment, and the circulation of the blood being partially stopped by the pressure of the straps, caused it to mount to my head, and I lost much of my usual serenity.

Zorrilla then rose from his seat, and read to me a long admonition, in which the name of the Divine Redeemer, and that of the Inquisition, were profanely mentioned together, and in which the only thing essential I remarked was the following phrase: "We are here assembled by an especial order from his Majesty, our catholic sovereign, to try this cause."

The painful position in which I was forced to remain on account of this alligation being observed by Zorrilla, who thought I could not hear him distinctly, he ordered me to approach the table, and to listen attentively to his discourse, in which he exaggerated what he called the evident proofs of my guilt, resulting from the inquiries, examinations, and declarations, taken from the moment of my arrest, concluding with the following threat:—"that if in four and twenty hours from that time I did not disclose in an unreserved manner all which with impious disloyalty I had attempted to conceal from the holy tribunal, I should be declared a perjurer, and in a state of pertinacity,

and accordingly subject to the severest punishments reserved for similar cases."

Momentarily seized with one of those impulses so natural to him who finds himself in such a painful conjuncture, I begged earnestly to know what they finally intended to exact from me. "The truth, the truth only," hastily interrupted Zorrilla: "on it depends either your salvation or your ruin. Be certain that all the crimes of those whom you endeavour to shield will weigh on yourself."

To this I observed that I could not conscientiously gratify the wishes of the tribunal, because I should, in the very act of doing what was required of me, fail in the truth, as I did not possess the proofs which would be indispensable to declare the contrary of what I had always avowed. In conclusion, I attempted an appeal to their feelings; but the hearts of my judges were too much above human emotions to be moved by my address. Interrupted by Zorrilla, who commenced his speech by pouring on me a torrent of abuse, I was forced to listen to all that his malignant rage dictated. "None of those whom this holy tribunal has hitherto judged," he exclaimed with as much hypocrisy as fanaticism, "has ever dared to show an equal insolence. How do you, detestable infidel, presume to constitute yourself a judge of what you ought or ought not to declare, and pretend that you stand in need of proofs indispensable to fulfil your duties? We shall to-morrow night see whether you entertain the same opinion. Hitherto the subterfuges of depraved individuals, like yourself, have never eluded the sagacity of the tribunal of the faith. True to our holy religion, and to the King, our catholic sovereign; firm and incorruptible in our high and most virtuous duties, we are not to be deluded with pompous expressions and unmeaning excuses, too criminal in our eyes. Twenty-four hours the charity and circumspection of this holy tribunal still grants you to choose either your salvation or your ruin. Take him away!" he added, addressing the jailers.

Don Juanito, ever anxious to obey the orders of his superiors, immediately approaching, took the end of the leather strap that hung from my wrists, and obliged me to fall back. He then bowed to the judges, and taking the lead, conducted me to my dungeon, Don Marcelino following behind. Seeing that they intended to leave my arms bound, I begged them to give me some water to drink before they closed the doors on me. The latter, less insensible to my sufferings than his colleague, listened to my entreaty, and poured some water in my mouth, at the same time saying, with some emotion, that they had been forbidden to speak to me, and uttering some exclamations of pity. Don Juanito, who observed it, told him abruptly to make haste, and even dared to reproach him with acting contrary to his duties. On their closing the doors, it seemed as if their whole weight fell on my heart.

Were I to trace here the crowd of bitter thoughts which harassed

me from that moment, my task would be interminable, nor could I then present a true picture of the mental agony I endured; I shall therefore leave it to the imagination of my readers.

As early as one in the morning, I heard the distant sound of bolts becoming louder and louder, till the doors of my dungeon turning upon their hinges, I saw, by the feeble glimmerings of a lamp, the odious countenance of Zorrilla, who came in, followed by Don Juanito. I was lying on my bed when they entered, but the former, with his usual arrogance, ordered me to rise, murmuring all the while at the slow manner in which I was obliged to obey his commands. Among my other sufferings, I had been incessantly tormented by an excessive thirst, caused by a burning fever, which, as I was deprived of the use of my arms, I had repeatedly, but vainly, endeavoured to quench; nay, in one of my attempts I had been unfortunate enough to spill the water that remained in the jug. Unable to resist the intolerable thirst by which I was consumed, and overcoming my repugnance to ask any favours from my keepers, I begged them earnestly to give me a little water to drink. Disregarding my prayer, they proceeded to search my person in a manner the most offensive to my feelings, and then looked under the mattress, and even examined the seams of the pillow, as well as my watch, which hung at the bed-head.

The search being concluded, I again entreated them to give me some water in the name of that religion so often blazoned by the members of the holy tribunal. Zorrilla, who heard me with a countenance in which the secret pleasure he felt at my distress was strongly depicted, ordered the jailer to bring a jug of water which was usually kept in the passage, and to pour some out into the washing basin, and then turning himself towards me, said in a heartless and disdainful tone, "Drink there, like the savages of Africa, since you would fain have as much religion as they."

Afraid that this despicable man should, on some future occasion, again search the dungeon, and discover the notes I had traced on the wall behind the bed-head, no sooner did he withdraw than I hastened to rub them out with my feet, as they were no longer of any service to me, and might, if observed, be highly prejudicial.

I spent the remainder of the night meditating on the dreadful fate that awaited me, the reality of which was becoming more apparent by every fresh circumstance that occurred. Zorrilla, who had now taken possession of the keys of my dungeon, hitherto under the principal control of Don Marcelino, was my constant visiter. In the morning he again came, followed by his worthy satellite Don Juanito, bringing a loaf of bread, which he insultingly threw at my feet. I stood in no need of it: water alone I craved, and water was left me in abundance in the same basin in which the inhuman judge had resolved I should drink.

On his return in the evening, he was accompanied by Esperanza,

who felt my temples, observing, with a feigned air of compassion, that I was in high fever, but that their humanity would soon find a remedy for it. The meaning of this was explained by my being shortly after conducted before the tribunal in that state of suffering. Here Zorrilla thrice asked me, in a very different sense from what the words imported, whether I was prepared to do my duty; adding, that he hoped I had thought about the consequences which otherwise would inevitably follow, if I refused to answer, without any equivocation, all the questions that had been put to me. The old senior inquisitor interrupting him said, "Read them over to him."

"What for?" returned Zorrilla, displeased at his interference. "Let him say that he is prepared to do his duty, and then the tribunal will read them over: allow him time to examine them at his leisure, and treat him as a son of our holy church."

"Gentlemen," I replied, "the fever under which I am suffering prevents me from paying a due attention to the words which are addressed to me. I am not in a state to answer any interrogatories."

"How is this?" exclaimed Berdeja, striking the table with his clenched hand. "Are you ignorant of the manner in which the inquisitors ought to be addressed?"

"It does not matter if you suffer even as much as you say," continued Zorrilla, without noticing the indignation evinced by his colleague. "You were not born deaf, nor are you now so. Twenty-four hours have already elapsed—do you confess, or do you not?"

"I assure you, Sir, with all the sincerity of my heart, that I do not call to mind having any thing to confess. Let this tribunal do with me what they please. God, who from on high reads the hearts of all his creatures, sees what passes in mine."

Zorrilla again urged the necessity of my making the disclosures demanded of me; but seeing my firm determination of not complying with their wishes, he rose from his seat, and desiring Don Juanito and another man, who filled the place of Don Marcelino, to follow us, led the way to my dungeon, where I was again confined.

The excess of my physical and mental sufferings produced a kind of lethargy, during which I scarcely noticed the nocturnal visit which my oppressors did not fail to pay me, in order to disturb my repose as much as lay in their power.

Whilst these scenes were acting in the Inquisition, others no less affecting for me were occurring without its walls. My respectable father, whose extreme anxiety to discover the place of my confinement urged him to question whoever was likely to know any thing of the secret affairs of the court, to watch all countenances, and weigh even the most insignificant expressions, at length succeeded in obtaining from Riesco the fatal secret of my imprisonment in the Inquisition of Madrid. This clergyman, in whose bosom struggled

the virtuous duties of friendship and religion with the cruel and severe ones of his office, also warned my father, when the critical moment arrived, of the dreadful trial reserved for me, advising him not to lose an instant in averting its execution.

Prevented by his wounds and infirmities from taking an active part, my father was obliged to confide this bitter news to my mother, who, though filled with consternation, hastened to the palace, and demanded from the captain of the guards an audience from his Majesty. Unable to obtain it so soon as her anxiety required, she proceeded to visit the ministers, from whose insolent porters, (among whom were some who stood under many obligations to my father,) she met a thousand slights, and scarcely less rudeness from themselves: Eguia would not allow her even to state her case. Lozano de Torres refused to see her. Pizarro, who at that time was first secretary of state, and Don Martin Garay, minister of finance, were the only members of administration who would receive her. When, however, the former heard the cause of my mother's affliction, he told her that he was not well informed of the matter; but that my misfortunes, perhaps, originated rather in my own impolitic manner of conducting my defence. He then politely took his leave, and did nothing to forward the object of her wishes. Her distress increasing by every succeeding disappointment, she entered Garay's cabinet, and throwing herself at his feet, implored his good offices in my behalf. This minister, moved at her affliction, bestowed on her the most consoling expressions; and though, like Pizarro, he observed that his knowledge of the affair was but slight, as he had not inquired into the origin of his Majesty's displeasure against me, he advised her to restrain her impatience a little, until he should find a favourable opportunity to render her some essential service, for which purpose he would exert all the influence he might possess with the King; adding, that if she succeeded in seeing him, she ought only to ask for my removal to another prison, that my trial might be carried on in the ordinary manner. Garay,* though often a witness to the arbitrary measures of a court, not at all suited to the rectitude of his principles, was moved even to tears on taking leave of my mother, to whom he reiterated his offers of service, advising her at the same time to try also other means of obtaining the audience from his Majesty.

In vain did this afflicted lady endeavour to accelerate this moment:

* This excellent man retired soon after from office, and fixed his residence at an estate he had in Arragon. In July 1822, as I went post through this province, the postilion showed me the house of that minister as being that of a respectable individual who was the benefactor of the district. I ordered him to drive to the door, and on my being announced, I met with the kindest reception from the host. As the celerity of my journey prevented my remaining any time with him, I was obliged to postpone to another opportunity his kind invitation of spending some days at his house; but the course of events removing me farther and farther from that province, I saw then this ornament of our country for the first and last time.

she would probably have remained unnoticed for a long time, had it not been for one of those efficient men who are sometimes found about a court, and who undertook to procure her the desired audience. My mother, too prudent to allow herself to be accompanied by her young daughters, presented herself alone at the palace at the appointed hour.

The King was leaning against a marble table, surrounded by the captain of the guards, and other noblemen on service, when my mother entered the saloon of audience. "What do you desire?" said the King on her kissing his hand.

"Sire, only to entreat your Majesty that whatever be the crime of which my son is accused, and whatever the punishment awarded him, you may deign to lend a compassionate ear to the prayer of his afflicted mother."

"Well! what is it you wish?" interrupted the King.

"That your Majesty may be pleased to order his removal to another prison, where his parents may have the consolation of hearing from him, and that his crime, if he have actually committed any, be made known to the world, to avoid the unfavourable interpretation which is always attached to the errors of those who are confined within the walls of the Inquisition, and which every day weighs heavier on the heart of his religious father. Sire! grant this favour to us, I entreat you. He is our most beloved son, because he has always been the most unfortunate."

"You would do better to forget him; he does little honour to your name," the King observed.

"Sire, recollect that two years ago some of his secret enemies, making use of your royal name, conspired against the life of my son, and that it was almost miraculously he escaped an ignominious death."

"Well, it would have been better if he had died then." Saying this, he turned his back on her, and my unfortunate mother fell at his feet in a state of insensibility, violently striking her head against the marble table. On her recovering her senses, she found herself supported by a halberdier of the palace, who conducted her to a coach; and in this pitiable condition she was conveyed home, where my afflicted father and sisters were impatiently waiting for her.*

* The remembrance of this occurrence made me afterwards avoid, as much as lay in my power, the presence of that seduced monarch. In July of 1822, however, a commission from the junta of generals in Catalonia rendering my presence at Madrid unavoidable, I was charged with informing the ministry of the state of the war in that province, which had become extremely critical. Finding myself, shortly after my arrival, in one of the secretary's offices, General Palafox, who was then on duty at the palace, came in and told me confidentially that the King was very desirous of seeing me. I asked him frankly if it was a mere wish or a real order. He answered that it was not a command. I then told him how repugnant such an interview would be to me, and that I wished to avoid it. The characteristic prudence of Palafox seconded my wish. On the following day, the minister of war spoke of my commission to the King, who said, "Which of the Van Halens has arrived? Is it he who escaped from

My mother's prayer, so similar to my own, was a matter of surprise to the King, who would not believe that this coincidence could be the effect of mere chance. Ramirez de Arellano endeavoured to persuade him that it was to be attributed to Riesco, over whom he, in conjunction with his colleagues of the Camarilla, had obtained a triumph by depriving him of his office and *honours*. Wishing to carry matters farther, and have that humane inquisitor banished from Madrid, orders were issued shortly after for his immediate departure for Seville to fill his post of canon of that chapter, a situation far better suited to his philosophic mind than that of which he had been just deprived. This venerable ecclesiastic, who, by following the example of his ancient colleague Llorente, might, during the time of the constitution, have given to the world a history of the secret occurrences that took place among that sanguinary triumvirate, did not think proper to reveal them to any one. It has, however, been asserted by a person worthy of credit, who was intimate with him, that Riesco, seeing that vigorous measures would be resorted to by the tribunal, had spoken with great energy to the King, as well as to all his colleagues, to the members of the Camarilla, and to the inquisitor-general, even previous to his dismissal, when he had presented himself before him, recommending that no other measures should be adopted towards me than those sanctioned by the religion of the Divine Redeemer, namely, mild persuasion; and finally, that my respectable father should be allowed to visit me privately in my dungeon, to induce me to make the desired confessions. This is the only fact respecting Riesco for which there is some foundation, and which is in some measure confirmed by another, which will appear in the sequel. From the moment he fell into disgrace, he requested his friends to visit him no more during the few days he was to remain in the capital, and has since made it a constant practice to mention the subject to no one.

With respect to his successor Berdeja, the public voice reported him to be the fruit of one of the many amorous frailties to which the inquisitor-general Mier was subject in his youth.

the Inquisition? I have a great esteem for him. I have not seen him since his return from Russia." This was related to me by that minister on the same day it occurred, and is perfectly characteristic of Ferdinand.

CHAPTER X.

New endeavours by Esperanza and Zorrilla to wrest the author's secrets from him—Removed by masked servants from his dungeon to the chamber of torment—Zorrilla addresses him in a criminatory summary—The author tortured—Manner in which this is done—He is carried insensible to his dungeon, where he finds himself loaded with fetters—After-agonies—Don José Gil, an army-surgeon, attends him—His humane interference—The author recognises the symptoms of approaching dissolution—His fetters are at length removed—His protracted illness—Young female attendant—Consolatory expressions of Dr. Gil.

The morning after the last sitting of the tribunal, Zorrilla paid me another visit accompanied by Esperanza, who found my fever considerably increased. The slight inquiries of the latter respecting my health inspiring me with the hope that I should find him more humane than his colleague, who seemed to have no other object in his frequent visits to my dungeon than to witness my sufferings, I ventured to ask him the favour of being seen by a physician, as every moment I felt my fever growing worse. On hearing this, he turned to Zorrilla, who met his look with a smile of incredulity. Meantime some broth being brought to me, Esperanza helped me to it, as my arms were still bound, saying to Zorrilla that he wished to remain alone with me. The latter acceding to his wish immediately withdrew, and Esperanza, having waded through the usual revolting preambles of charity and religion, entered upon his task of persuasion to induce me to yield to the wishes of the tribunal, with arguments so preposterous, and proposals so basely insulting, that he offended me more than his worthy companion had ever done. I therefore requested him to leave me, for that my unfortunate situation rendered quiet necessary. He then said that I should shortly repent my obstinacy, and turning his back on me, reclosed the doors of my dungeon.

Wishing to ascertain whether my fever increased, those two inquisitors repeated their visits to my prison in the afternoon, and finding that it had taken a favourable turn, they expressed their satisfaction, the true meaning of which I had soon opportunity of discovering.

At about eight o'clock at night of the same day (Nov. 20th), Don Juanito entered my dungeon with a lantern in his hand, followed by four other men, whose faces were concealed by a piece of black cloth, shaped above the head like a cone, and falling over the shoulders and chests, in the middle of which were two holes for the eyes. I was half asleep when the noise of the doors opening awoke me, and by the dim light of the lantern I perceived those frightful apparitions. Imagining I was labouring under the effects of a

dream, I earnestly gazed awhile on the group, till one of them approached, and pulling me by the leather strap with which my arms were bound, gave me to understand by signs that I was to rise. Having obeyed this summons, my face was covered with a leather mask, and in this manner I was led out of the prison. After walking through various passages on a level with that of my dungeon, we entered a room, where I heard Zorrilla order my attendants to untie the strap.

"Listen with attention," he then exclaimed, addressing me, "since you have hitherto been deaf to the advice which this holy tribunal has repeatedly given you in their spirit of peace, humanity, and religious charity. Propagator of secret and impious societies, established by the heresies of their members to destroy our holy religion and the august throne of our catholic sovereign, you have maintained for the space of a year an uninterrupted correspondence with more than two hundred sectarians. You invented a project to form a second ramification to involve in your plans the most uninformed and incautious classes of the kingdom; you have attempted to deceive his Majesty, to whom you spontaneously promised from Murcia to disclose with religious loyalty all you knew; and instead of showing yourself sensible of the unexampled magnanimity with which he condescended to hear you, you did every thing in your power to mislead him, hoping to elude the just and deserved rigour of the laws by an accumulation of offences towards the supreme dignity of the altar and the throne; an abominable insult, that constitutes a new crime in aggravation to those which have already been proved."

After a moment's silence, which I thought was intended for their hearing my reply, he proceeded with increased energy. "This holy tribunal has at last recourse to rigour. It will extort from you the truths, which neither the duty of a religious oath, demanded without violence, nor the mild admonitions which have been so often resorted to in order to induce you to make the desired declarations, have been able to obtain. This evident pertinacity obliges us to use a salutary severity. We judge the cause of our Divine Redeemer and of our catholic King, and we shall know how to fulfil the high ministry with which the supreme spiritual and temporal authority has invested us. The most rigorous torments will be employed to obtain from you these truths, or you shall expire in the midst of them. All the charges I have just mentioned in a summary manner must be amply explained! yes!—amply explained! justice, God, and the King require that it should be so. This holy tribunal will fulfil their duties—yes!"

The agitation of the moment permitted me to utter only a few words, which, however, were not listened to, and I was hurried away to the farther end of the room, the jailer and his assistants exerting all their strength to secure me. Having succeeded in

raising me from the ground, they placed under my arm-pits two high crutches, from which I remained suspended; after which my right arm was tied to the corresponding crutch, whilst the left being kept in a horizontal position, they encased my hand open in a wooden glove extending to the wrist, which shut very tightly, and from which two large iron bars ran as far as the shoulder, keeping the whole in the same position in which it was placed. My waist and legs were similarly bound to the crutches by which I was supported; so that I shortly remained without any other action than that of breathing, though with difficulty. After forty-eight hours, during which my arms had been constantly pinioned, I did not, till this moment, very acutely feel the pain caused by the tightness of the new binding.

Having remained a short time in this painful position, that unmerciful tribunal returned to their former charges. Zorrilla with a tremulous voice, that seemed to evince his thirst for blood and vengeance, repeated the first of those he had just read, namely, whether I did not belong to a society whose object was to overthrow our holy religion, and the august throne of our catholic sovereign? I replied, that it was impossible I should plead guilty to an accusation of that nature; "Without any subterfuge, say whether it is so," he added in an angry tone.

"It is not, Sir," I replied. The glove which guided my arm, and which seemed to be resting on the edge of a wheel, began now to turn, and with its movements I felt by degrees an acute pain, especially from the elbow to the shoulder, a general convulsion throughout my frame, and a cold sweat overspreading my face. The interrogatory continued; but Zorilla's question of "Is it so? Is it so?" were the only words that struck my ear amidst the excruciating pain I endured, which became so intense that I fainted away and heard no more the voices of those cannibals.

When I recovered my senses, I found myself stretched on the floor of my dungeon, my hands and feet secured with heavy fetters and manacles, fastened by a thick chain, the nails of which my tormentors were still rivetting. On this being concluded, the unpleasant mask which obstructed my sight was removed, and I observed that Zorrilla and Don Juanito were the only persons that remained in the dungeon. Wishing to stifle before such hateful witnesses any expression of pain that might escape me amidst my severe sufferings, I closed tightly the lapel of my coat with my teeth; but Zorrilla, who noticed it, said, loading me with abusive epithets, that rage and despair were the only pains I felt.

Left by those wretches stretched in the same place, I could have wished that the doors, which closed after them, should never again open. Eternal sleep was all I desired, and all I asked of heaven. It was after much difficulty that I dragged myself to my bed. It seemed to me that the noise of my chains would awaken the vigi-

lance of my jailers, whose presence was to me the most fatal of my torments. I spent the whole of the night struggling with the intense pains, which were the effects of the torture, and with the workings of my excited mind, which offered but a horrible perspective to my complicated misfortunes. This state of mental agitation, and the burning fever which was every moment increasing, soon threw me into a delirium, during which I scarcely noticed the operation performed by my jailers of opening the seams of my coat to examine the state of my arm.

I continued delirious during the whole day and night of the 21st; but on the following morning I became sensible of the presence of the medical attendant of the secret prison, Don José Gil, surgeon of one of the regiments of the guards, a man rather advanced in years, of an abrupt but frank character, and of a humane disposition,—a singular circumstance in a familiar of the Holy Office. He was accompanied by Don Juanito, who did not seem to agree with him as to the manner in which I was to be treated. On Zorrilla making his appearance, the surgeon said, without hesitation, that as long as I should be kept so cruelly pinioned, no amelioration could be expected. Zorrilla, who evinced much displeasure at his expressing himself thus openly, led him out of the dungeon into the passage where they remained talking for some time. On their return, poultices were applied to my arm to allay the inflammation; but as the surgeon's request, that my chains should be removed, remained unattended to, I spent the whole of that day, or I should rather say of that eternal night, seeking in vain a position in which I might obtain some repose. This incessant restlessness fed the fever which consumed me, and rendered my agony more horrible.

On the following day when the doctor saw me in that dreadful state, he exclaimed; "Why should I come to see this! Either these irons must be removed, or call me no more to attend." These words, so different from those I was accustomed to hear my keepers utter, penetrated to my heart's core; and notwithstanding my endeavours to repress the emotion I felt at this moment, my eyes betrayed it in a manner too forcible not to be observed. Stern silence, accompanied by various signs of disapprobation, was the only reply given to the above observation, and Doctor Gil, as if hesitating on what he was to do, quitted the dungeon without having prescribed any thing for my relief. He was followed by the rest; but on arriving at the exterior door, I heard Zorrilla address the doctor in a manner which showed a perfect indifference for my existence.

On the night of the same day I experienced the most dreadful agonies. No words are sufficiently adequate to express the sufferings, both of body and mind, by which I was overwhelmed, and which were farther aggravated by the treatment I received from my attendant Don Juanito, who had been intrusted with the care of attending me, and whose greatest pleasure was to see me suffer. I

anxiously hoped that the continuation of my troubles would accelerate the moment of my dissolution, for which I earnestly prayed to heaven. It was the only consolation remaining to one who had no other prospect before his eyes than the most cruel torments and despair. I calculated that I could not live above three days in my present condition; for I remarked that though naturally robust, and in the very vigour of my age, a progressive decrease of strength, and a total indifference to my fate (which are the surest signs of an approaching end), were hourly becoming more apparent. But the state of exasperation to which I had been reduced had such influence on my mind, that the nearer I came to the gates of death, the greater was my hatred for the human race; the remembrance of the authors of my days being scarcely sufficient to soften at this awful moment the hard-heartedness which was gaining an ascendancy over my natural disposition.

It is impossible for me to guess how far Dr. Gil was influenced in my favour, otherwise than by the conduct he observed towards me. This has been one of those private occurrences of the Inquisition which I have never been able to investigate; but whether the change that took place was owing to this individual (who, I understand, enjoyed the favour of the royal family, and of the inquisitor-general Mier), or whether the members of the tribunal feared that by my death they would be deprived of their triumph, it is certain that on the morning of the 26th I was freed from my chains. Zorrilla, who with Don Marcelino and Don Juanito was present when they were removed, had the effrontery of extolling this as a new act of mercy, adding the usual blasphemies with which his hypocrisy enabled him to embellish his discourses.

Although I looked upon this change as an idle ceremony, I could not help remarking the appearance of Don Marcelino as a favourable omen of the future. This jailer, who was under many obligations to the inquisitor Riesco, sensible of what he owed him, felt deeply his dismissal, and in some measure imitated the humanity of his patron, by feigning an illness and resigning the keys to his colleague, when he saw that matters were to be carried to extremities with me, until, afraid of losing his office, and seeing the final departure of Riesco, he resumed his duties.

During the whole of this day, I was alternately visited by the two jailers. Don Marcelino, though always more attentive than his companion, did not evince much surprise at the evident alteration which had taken place in my situation since our last meeting. In obedience, however, to the orders of Dr. Gil, who had recommended that the variations of my fever should be strictly observed during the course of the night, he came frequently to see me and administer the anodyne which had been prescribed for me. The benefit I derived from this improved attendance, and from the entire disencumbrance of my irons, was not such as might have been expected. The injury

they had caused appeared to me irremediable; and I was the more willing to consider it in that light, as otherwise new and more cruel torments might be the consequence. Under these circumstances I always recurred to my last prayer, trusting that God, who read my inmost thoughts, and was a witness to my sufferings, would at length listen to it, and grant me the repose I so anxiously desired.

On the 27th Dr. Gil again visited me, and examined my arm more attentively than he had hitherto done. He was accompanied only by Don Marcelino, though I could hear Don Juanito coughing in the passage near the door of my dungeon. The doctor, having alternately inquired of Don Marcelino and myself what kind of night I had passed, put to me several questions that indicated his ignorance of the cause of my present condition, and of the cruel treatment which I had for so long experienced. Having prescribed to Don Marcelino the method which he was to follow, he took his leave, recommending that my dungeon should be kept as clean as possible, a measure the more necessary as it had not been cleaned or ventilated for several days, the loop-hole of the prison being too small to admit sufficient air for that purpose. He hoped that diet, cleanliness, and sleep, would enable him to effect in me a complete cure; and that I might obtain some repose, he told Don Marcelino the quantity of opium he was to give me on that night, strictly recommending, as he left the dungeon, never to carry about him more than he should prescribe. Shortly after the doctor's departure, they began to execute his orders respecting the cleanliness of my dungeon; and as he had forbidden that I should be removed, lest my sufferings should be aggravated, I was not taken to another dungeon as had been done on former occasions. They therefore placed a screen before my bed that I might not be seen by the person employed in sweeping it, who I soon perceived to be a female. Don Juanito, who affected to be greatly annoyed by the inconvenience of the moment, was so deeply engaged in watching her movements, that he did not leave the screen for a moment; but notwithstanding all his care, when they came to arrange my wretched bed, neither himself nor his companion could prevent my being seen by this new visiter.

It was a young girl, the expression of whose countenance, during the rapid glance I caught of her, showed that, however humble her condition, she was not formed to dwell among inquisitors. Horror and compassion were strongly portrayed in her animated features, and I observed that she repressed with difficulty the emotion she felt at this moment. Notwithstanding my extreme languor, I could not help noticing, and being moved at, the artless though energetic expression of sensibility evinced by this young girl.

Don Marcelino came to administer to me the opium at the hour prescribed by the doctor. I took it without the least mistrust, and with all the anxiety natural to one who had so long been a stranger

to repose. Dr. Gil had asked me in the morning, probably with the intention of fixing the quantity of opium I was to take, whether I had often taken it, to which I replied in the affirmative, in the hope that the pains I was enduring would be allayed by my taking a sufficient quantity.

Don Marcelino having given me the medicine, and placed within my reach all that I might want during the night, left me to the sepulchral silence of my dungeon, which remained perfectly undisturbed. On the following morning Dr. Gil came very early to see me, flattering himself that he would find me much improved; but even before I had informed him of it, he saw that the contrary was the case. Either the small quantity of opium, or the bad quality of it, or perhaps the infamous designs of my tormentors, one or all of these causes had kept me in such a dreadful state of restlessness during the whole night, that far from enjoying the least repose, I had struggled with sufferings hitherto unknown to me. Having heard the account I gave him, and my answers to the questions he put to me, he ordered Don Marcelino to bring the opium from which the quantity given me had been taken. He examined it, and requested that no medicine should be administered to me until his return. During the short time that we remained alone, he said to me; "This, Sir, is but a trifling affair. There are few of us who have not undergone troubles of some kind or other. Even myself, though you see me now in this uniform, had the folly in my youth to become a monk of San Juan de Dios, of which I soon repented. On leaving the convent, I made the last campaign against the French, and could count my troubles by the dozen."

I have already mentioned that Dr. Gil was a man of an abrupt character; but there was in him a fund of good nature that inspired one with confidence, especially in my present condition. Whether I owed it to the influence he exerted in the Inquisition, or to other causes which were beyond my reach, it is certain that Don Juanito ceased to trouble me with his presence, and that Don Marcelino was wholly intrusted with the care of nursing me. This man, though not possessed of acute feelings, and having but a limited understanding (qualities rarely separated), and though too fond of his office to venture neglecting its cruel duties, was more of a novice than Don Juanito. It was easy to perceive by his manner of performing it, that he was a stranger to such employment.

Towards evening Dr. Gil returned accompanied by this jailer, who had frequently visited me during the day. The doctor then gave me with his own hand the draught which he himself brought for me, exerting all his eloquence to persuade me that his medicine would prove efficacious; after which he took his leave, giving some directions to Don Marcelino respecting me. An hour had scarcely elapsed, before I began to feel the effects of the draught, and fell into a profound sleep.

It was considerably after nine in the morning when I awoke, and though I felt all the effects consequent to a sleep stimulated by opium, my pains were less acute, and the fever had greatly decreased. Dr. Gil had visited me early in the morning; but unwilling to disturb my repose, returned at noon, and very soon perceived the benefit I had derived from the draught. From that moment he commenced the system he proposed to follow to effect my recovery, in which he afterwards persevered with constancy, though owing to causes which are beyond the reach of medicine, the improvement in my health was not so rapid as he expected.

Notwithstanding my repeated requests that my dungeon should be properly cleaned, some days elapsed before it was attended to, and not until I was able to be removed to another.

I am now arriving at a period of my history when some occurrences happened to which I undoubtedly owe the preservation of my life. I will, therefore, pass slightly over the visits of Dr. Gil, to introduce to my readers the humble heroine, who will shortly figure in the narrative of my misfortunes.

CHAPTER XI.

Sketch of Ramona, the female orphan adopted by Marcelino the jailer—Precarious health of the author—Counsels given him by the surgeon—Prisons visited at Easter—Don Manuel Centurion—Don Juanito's perfidy—Interest and compassion of Ramona for the author's sufferings—The author writes to his cousin, Captain Jacobo Murfy—Don Juanito is taken ill—Ramona's assiduous kindness—Murfy's friendly reply—Conference with Ramona—Another prisoner whom the author suspects to be Calvo.

Don Marcelino, having married the daughter of his predecessor in the hope of securing a situation in the Inquisition, soon after obtained permission from the Committee of Benevolence to take from the Foundling of Madrid a girl who might be brought up in his family in those habits of retirement which the service she was destined for seemed to require, and who, being treated as his own child, might render herself worthy of his entire confidence. Among the children brought for his choice, the lot fell on one whose name was Ramona. This girl, who had hitherto remained unacknowledged, was of a reserved disposition, and from her earliest infancy had shown a premature solidity of character which promised to answer the views of Don Marcelino, who consequently gave her the preference over her companions.

Ramona was entering her sixteenth year, when in 1814 the Holy Office was re-established, and Don Marcelino employed as chief jailer of the secret prison of the court, as it was denominated.

From that time Ramona was intrusted with the menial services of those prisons, in which, however, men were generally employed. The unalterable reserve of her character, the diligence and cleanliness with which she performed her duties, and the little inclination she showed for any kind of amusement that was likely to divert her attention from them, gained her the confidence of all the familiars with the exception of Don Juanito, who, besides his hatred for her sex, being more constantly employed about the prison, and thereby prevented from applying some of his time to other occupations by which his mean avarice might be gratified, never lost an opportunity of injuring her, thereby to effect her removal.

Don Marcelino, on the contrary, placing all his trust in her, permitted Ramona to enter every prison where her duties called her, without watching or following her. This confidence had become habitual in him, and as he never gave up to her the principal keys of any dungeon where she might be engaged, he believed that, both doors being shut, there could be no possible risk in trusting her: of this he thought his colleague must be equally persuaded.

Little aware of the inquietudes of Don Juanito, or of the negligence of Don Marcelino, or even of the advantage I might derive from the trait of sensibility which I had remarked in the countenance of the young girl, and which, though consoling at the time, could make but little impression on an imagination disturbed by fever and delirium, I continued following the regimen prescribed by Dr. Gil, which, though strictly adhered to, did not produce so rapid an improvement as he had anticipated. No sooner, however, was I able to get up, than the cleanliness of my dungeon was again attended to, and I was daily removed to another.

The month of December was passing away without any great amelioration having taken place in my health. On the contrary, the rigour of the season, the constant dampness of that sepulchral abode, and the little clothing allowed me, brought on a pulmonary complaint accompanied by a convulsive cough, which scarcely permitted me to take any repose, and which retarded my convalescence.

Dr. Gil, notwithstanding his hints to the inquisitors, and his well-known influence, began to meet with new obstacles in the way of my recovery. One day, towards the middle of December, when Don Marcelino happened to leave us a short time by ourselves, he spoke to me in the following words: "There are evils which ought to be considered as antidotes to others more fatal. It is not prudent you should entirely recover your health. Whilst I do not declare you in a state of perfect convalescence, you remain unmolested; I might otherwise not always be able to accomplish my good wishes towards you. But, since hitherto I have been unable to obtain your removal to a better place, profit by the visit of prisons, which takes place on the Easter holyday, and ask to be allowed more clothing and a better bed."

The first words of Dr. Gil weighed on my heart more heavily than I can well describe, as they confirmed my own conjectures; but such was the bad opinion I had formed of every individual belonging to the Inquisition, that it never entered my head to converse with him respecting the probable destiny that awaited me.

Easter Sunday at length arrived, when my repose was disturbed very early in the morning by the jailers, who came to clean my dungeon, on which they bestowed more pains than usual, improving the appearance of my bed, though not its comforts.

Several familiars of the Inquisition, of those who figured only in the great ceremonies of certain festivities, to some of whom I was personally known, and others who were acquaintances of my father, but all of them induced by an idle curiosity, which the occurrences respecting Riesco and other events had given rise to, profiting of the right that the etiquette of the above day gave them, assembled at the usual hour in the Inquisition to visit its prison. This annual ceremony, which was originally instituted for the benevolent purpose of ascertaining whether the prisoners stood in want of any of those articles to which each was entitled by the regulations of the prisons, had under the present government become a mere pantomime. Consequently, it only lasted a few minutes; but these sufficed to gratify the curiosity of the visiters, who had no other object in view.

In this instance, however, they were disappointed in their expectations, and I was spared the disagreeable presence of such men, from whom, notwithstanding Dr. Gil's advice, I would never have asked the smallest favour. Nevertheless, at the hour fixed for the visit, I could hear the distant noise of doors, and the murmur of their loud talking. I afterwards learned that another unfortunate individual, who was confined in one of the prisons near mine, had been visited by them, and that when Don Marcelino was leading them to the passage that conducted to my dungeon, Berdeja motioned him to stop, whilst Zorrilla, proceeding towards the stairs, told them they might withdraw, as their visit was concluded. As the number of persons who attended on this occasion was greater than usual, I may safely infer that my judges, fearing I might utter the many complaints I should have been justified in making against them, adopted this method to prevent it.

A long time elapsed before either of the jailers appeared, a circumstance from which I was led to suspect that the number of the prisoners was considerable, since the visit seemed to last so long. Among the familiars of the Inquisition duped by Zorrilla on that day, was Don Manuel Centurion, chamberlain of the King, and an old friend of my father, with whom he was in the habit of having his daily game at ombre. This credulous courtier, fully expecting to see me, had accompanied the rest of the familiars, with the sole intention of informing my father of the state in which he might find me. Don Juanito, who was this gentleman's agent for collecting

his revenues in the capital, being questioned by him respecting me, and afraid of incurring his displeasure, owned that I was still in those prisons; without, however, neglecting this opportunity of working on the timidity and religious scruples of his employer, to break off the intimacy which subsisted between him and my father. The character of this hypocritical jailer was so black and full of duplicity, that whilst on one hand he was my most cruel oppressor, on the other he affected to condole with my afflicted father.

My unhappy family, who on that day were waiting with the utmost anxiety the return of Centurion, hoping to have the poor consolation of learning something of my present situation, were filled with grief at the disappointment they experienced; especially my mother, who, feeling no less affected at it than at the heartless manner in which she was received by the King, fainted away in my sister's arms.

Don Juanito, who came at noon to serve me my scanty portion, complained much of illness, but said nothing about the threatened visit, although by his dress I supposed it might be continued in the afternoon. When towards evening, Don Marcelino came to the dungeon, the pain in my chest was so great, that I intimated a wish to retire to bed. To this he made no objection; but on the contrary said that I might do so immediately, as the visit was now over. He then assisted me in undressing, and returned only at the hour Dr. Gil had requested the medicine should be administered to me.

From the moment I lay down in bed, I felt a little lump about the middle of it, which I at first thought was a button; but on my attempting to remove it, I found it to be the upper part of a drop ear-ring. This discovery was a balm to my heart; for although my heavy misfortunes made me look upon every thing here with mistrust, still it was impossible to mistake its true meaning or its owner. As, however, I could neither see nor speak to her, nor even communicate by writing, I was puzzled how to ask an explanation. To devise the means of answering this sign was my constant occupation during the whole of that night. Hoping that my dungeon would be swept on the following day, I wound round the ear-ring some of my hair, and left it in the same place where I found it. This was the only sign of intelligence the least perceptible that occurred to me; but as my evil fortune still pursued me, three days elapsed before my dungeon was cleaned. The reason of this delay was Don Juanito's illness, which, I understood, was caused by his constant attendance in the dungeons.

The day having at length arrived, and the cleaning of my dungeon being performed, on my return thither I hastened to examine the place where I had found the ear-ring. It was no longer there; but perceiving that my watch did not hang at the head of the bed, where I usually left it, I searched, and found it under the pillow.

observing with surprise that it pointed to the wrong hour. I own that I could not so easily guess the meaning of this second sign. In any other situation nothing could be more easily understood; but confined in this subterraneous place, secured by five doors, and under the immediate vigilance of two jailers, how was it possible for me to keep an assignation?

On the following day, however, just at the hour indicated by the watch, I heard a slight noise accompanied with the words "quick—quick," uttered impatiently, which caused all my doubts to vanish. I leaped as well as I could from my bed, and hastened to the small opening of the interior door, which was on a line with that of the exterior, where I saw but indistinctly the face of Ramona, who addressed me in these words: "You are very unfortunate: I wish with all my heart to be of some service to you: what can I do for you? Don Juanito is in bed—say quickly."

"My good girl," replied I, "do you know how to read?"

"A little."

"Could you give me paper and a pencil?"

"That is not in my power at present; but," she added, looking back and leaving me an instant, "here is some."

"Now give me a pin."

She then thrust her arm, which though small could hardly pass through the opening in the door, and succeeded in giving me the pin fastened in the paper, which I found to be a folded piece for making cigars, and which had probably been dropped by Don Marcelino, who was in the habit of smoking. "My poor girl, pray to the Holy Virgin that Don Juanito's illness may be prolonged," said I, as I took the paper from her, after which she disappeared.

Although I found myself so unexpectedly possessed of the entire good will of that kind-hearted girl, and of the paper, which was so essential to me, I was greatly embarrassed as to whom I should address myself; my mind being in such a disturbed state that I could not recollect the number of any of my friends' houses in the capital, and I was too well aware of the fatal consequences which would have ensued from a wrong direction. Besides the dwellings of many of them, who resided at Madrid or its environs, were unknown to me, while others, being military men, were constantly changing their quarters. Whilst struggling with these difficulties, I remembered the residence of a cousin of mine, the same from whom Irriberry had given me a letter on the night when he had been so singularly generous in the prison of Murcia. This gentleman, a captain of a frigate, whose name was Don Jacobo Murfy, held a situation in the office of hydrography, where he had apartments, and where I concluded he might be found. To him, therefore, I resolved to write.

At twelve o'clock in the day, Ramona had paid me her welcome visit, and at half-past one, my dinner was usually brought to me;

so that profiting of this short interval, as well as of the daylight, which was but very transient in my dungeon, I drew blood from my veins, and wrote to my cousin with my tooth-pick as follows:—"The ink with which this note is written, and the information you may gain from the bearer, will enable you to form an idea of the wretched situation to which I am reduced. I am surrounded with horrors; but no one shall ever suffer through my want of constancy or caution. Endeavour to see Don Facundo Infantes, a friend of mine, and of Heceta, whom you know; show him this paper, and act in concert with him. Farewell."

I had just concluded these lines, when the noise of doors announced the approach of the jailer, and I had time to conceal my note before he entered. My frugal repast being over, I was again left to the silence of my dungeon. Words are inadequate to describe how heavy appeared to me the two days that elapsed before I saw Ramona who, however, availing herself of every opportunity, left the same day under my pillow some folded paper, a pencil, and my watch pointing to eleven.

Dr. Gil, who had not visited me for two days, came on that evening, and from his conversation with Don Marcelino, I learned that Don Juanito would be confined to his bed for some days. Not even the most efficacious medicine which the whole science could afford, would have relieved me half as much as did this agreeable news. He withdrew greatly displeased at finding that I had been overlooked in the visit to the prison, and that the clothing of my bed had not been increased, to which he attributed the little improvement perceivable in my health. My anxiety to see Ramona being now my principal cause of uneasiness, did not permit me to pay much attention either to the anger manifested by Dr. Gil, to my suffocating cough and excessive pains of my disjointed arm, or to the other numberless afflictions to which I was a prey.

At length the hour, which I so impatiently wished for, arrived, and Ramona appeared a short time after, finding me already waiting at the door. "Are you better?" she inquired.

"All my pains have vanished with your presence," I replied; but interrupting me, she added, "Don Juanito continues confined to his bed, and my master (meaning Don Marcelino) is dressing to go out, as the tribunal does not sit during the Easter holydays. Tell me what I can do for you."

"Are you resolved to serve me at all hazards?" I asked.

"Strange question! But to the point."

"Have you the liberty to go out?"

"Not always; but there are hours in the day when no one objects to it; besides I go every morning to the market."

I wish you to carry this note to Don Jacobo Murfy, who resides at the office of hydrography, in the street of Alcala; but that you may not excite his suspicions, you must tell him all you know of my

situation, and show him this watch from me, in which my name is enamelled. When he has heard you, do what he may request."

"Is he a man of honour? Have you much confidence in him? Reflect that there may be as many wicked men among your friends as among your enemies."*

I replied, that I had as much confidence in him as in herself. "If it be so," she cried, "give me your watch and the note."

I fastened them to the end of the broom, which she thrust through the opening in the doors, and they arrived safely to her hands. When she saw the colour of the writing, she asked if I could make no use of the pencil, to which I replied that the note was written before she gave it to me. "If," she remarked, "I find no opportunity of delivering my messages to you personally, you will find them under your pillow."

"What is your name?" I inquired.

"Ramona. This is my *only* name." As she uttered these words, her voice changed, and hastily bidding me farewell, she withdrew.

This sudden departure was to me a new motive of anxiety, as I had not sufficiently impressed upon her the necessity of her returning the watch as soon as possible, and I was afraid some new misfortune would ensue, were Don Marcelino by any chance to ask me the hour.

On the following day, however, my dungeon being cleaned, I had the pleasure of finding under the pillow my watch and a note, which, unfortunately, I was unable to read, owing to the darkness that prevailed in that place at the time of my return. I therefore spent in conjectures the whole night, which was the last of that, to me, cheerless year.

The first day of the year 1818 at length dawned, and no sooner did the light enable me to see the writing of the above note, than I read the following reply from my cousin:—"Nothing can equal the surprise I experienced on receiving your note. I will immediately inform Infantes and Heceta of what I have learned of your wretched situation. Be assured, my affection for you will prompt me to exert my every nerve in your behalf. Heaven preserve you! Adieu."

I read these lines again and again, when the noise of doors announcing the approach of some one, I saw Don Marcelino enter, attired in his gala dress. Notwithstanding the indifference with which I looked upon any change in the appearance of these men, I was afraid that this novelty might prevent me from seeing my messenger as soon as I expected. His fine dress, however, did not hinder him from performing the usual menial offices of the dungeon. Wishing to ascertain whether I had any thing to apprehend from the circumstance of his having assumed his gala dress, I told him that the pain I felt in my chest, and the desire to create perspiration, compelled me to remain in bed the whole day. "Yes, the weather

* By this she alluded to a conversation she had overheard respecting Calvo.

raw cold. You had better keep your bed," he said, with the gravity of a starched inquisitor, and then withdrew.

On being left alone, I began to prepare another note to deliver to the messenger, should she pay me a visit on that day. The pencil was so bad, that I was obliged to have recourse to the same kind of ink I had used on the former occasion; and thinking that my cousin must by this time have seen Infantes, I addressed my note to the latter, saying that there were certain persons (whose names I specified, and in particular Torrijos, for whose personal safety I felt great alarm) who might be interrogated respecting the correspondence they had held with me, and who ought absolutely to know that, throughout, in my declarations, I had carefully concealed their names; so that the knowledge of their letters being in the possession of the inquisitors ought not to be a matter of anxiety to them. I added that he might assure them of my firm determination never to betray the name of any individual, and begged him immediately to write to Murcia, Granada, Valencia, and Cadiz, the places of residence where those friends were likely to be found.

I had scarcely concluded these lines, when I heard Ramona's whisper at the outer door. "I went the day before yesterday," she said, "to see the gentleman to whom your note was addressed. As I entered his room, he dismissed his servant, and was amazed beyond expression at seeing your note. To remove any doubt he might entertain, I showed him your watch, which he scarcely looked at, and asked me who I was. I gave him a full account of your situation, and begged him not to detain me long, as I had a distance to go. I also appointed a place nearer to the inquisition, where he might receive your messages. Having heard me, he went into his study and returned soon after, bringing me the note which I left under your pillow. I am to return to-morrow to the appointed place, according to his request, to see if there is any other message for you. Have you any thing to send him?"

I then delivered to her the note I had already written. "Don Juanito," she continued, "is still confined to his bed, and my master is gone to the levee of the inquisitor-general."

"So that you are my jailer to-day?"

"Would to God I were! Little do you know what kind of prison this is."

"Have you been long in it?"

"Whilst I may be employed in your service, I beg you to ask no questions about me. I wish to act with all possible disinterestedness, and have no other desire than knowing if I can alleviate your misfortunes."

"Are there any other prisoners confined in these dungeons?" I inquired.

"There is only one more," she replied, "but his sufferings are not equal to yours. My master says he will soon be set at liberty."

"Have you seen him?"

"Yes, sir, for I clean his place without his being removed from it."

"What kind of a man is he?"

"He is still young, and good-looking. He is always cheerful and singing, and has covered the walls with drawings. My master says they are portraits of French kings."

On hearing this, the suspicion which I had formed respecting the pretended arrest of Calvo, with whom I expected every moment to be confronted, disappeared. "Do you know his name?" I again inquired.

"No, sir, nor even yours, until I saw it in your watch; for both Don Juanito and my master call you *the bird*, since that blustering officer who once attended you (she meant the military fiscal) told them one night to keep a strict watch over you, for you were a *bird of high flight*. I was serving my master the chocolate when I heard it."

She then related to me the various changes she had remarked in Don Marcelino and Don Juanito, exclaiming, as she spoke of the latter and of his illness, "I should never have been able to render you any service without this fortunate chance. He is the only one by whom I am incessantly watched, and if he recovers, I know not what will become of you, as I shall not then so easily find an opportunity of speaking with you."

I then asked her who kept the keys of my dungeon; to which she answered, that sometimes her master, and at others Don Juanito; but that the former on going to bed, always placed them under his pillow; adding, that some of them were very difficult to manage, the locks having some secret springs, and lastly, that although her master allowed her to enter the passages, he never trusted her with the keys of my dungeon.

Having given me this information, she withdrew lest she should excite suspicion. Fearing to alarm her by disclosing too suddenly my intentions, I was obliged to put to her those random questions. Not many minutes elapsed after her departure, when Don Marcelino made his appearance, bringing under his arm some books of Bossuet and St. Augustin, saying, as he gave them to me, that he had received them for my use from the secretary* of the council of the supreme, who had desired his compliments to me, hoping I would not forget myself or my father. Such was the constant theme of these pretended friends.

On the following day, Ramona came about the time I expected her, and delivered to me a note, saying, "I have not seen the gentleman, but I found this paper in the place appointed for the purpose, and left yours there. Do not be surprised at seeing me thus agitated and at my leaving you immediately. Don Juanito gets up to-day, and the tribunal will sit in a few days. The Virgin will not hear my prayers." She bade me farewell, and withdrew.

* The brother of the senior inquisitor of Murcia, Castañeda.

CHAPTER XII.

Letter from the author's friends promising help—Timidity of Ramona—Constancy of her resolution to aid the author—The surgeon declares him to be mad—Exertions of his friends—Don Marcelin gives him hopes of a visit from his father—Ramona's apprehensions—She refuses to bring any destructive weapons—Plan of the author to escape.

I CAST my eyes on the note Ramona had just delivered to me, a few lines of which were written by my cousin, and the remainder in a disguised hand, which I attributed to Inntes: the following was the substance:—"Be sure your friends will immediately do their utmost to effect your deliverance. Reckon on our arms and on our purses in any plans you may meditate, and tell us frankly all you may require to have them put into execution; for no impediments shall make us shrink from executing the sacred duties of friendship by which we are united."

An inexpressible joy filled my very soul. The enthusiasm I felt at reading these lines was such, that the darkness of my dungeon seemed to vanish, as well as the obstacles which before had appeared to me insurmountable. These flattering hopes, which the noble conduct of a poor servant girl alone had raised, might be too premature; but they succeeded in rescuing me from the depths of despair into which I was sunk.

By the silence of my friends, and the assurance of Ramona that there was but one more prisoner in the vicinity of my dungeon, I inferred that the Inquisition had not extended its persecutions so far as the positive manner in which Zorrilla had made some of his charges gave me reason to fear. Agreeably to this inference, I began seriously to think about myself, not indeed as my judges advised me, but as sound reason suggested; namely, how I could effect my deliverance. Don Juanito's recovery, however, was an obstacle which opposed itself to it, no less so than the wretched condition to which I was reduced, as I clearly saw that, in order to execute my plan, I must have recourse to force; the intricate labyrinth of these subterraneous passages shutting out all hope of effecting it by any other means. Besides, I remarked, in the midst of Ramona's exalted generosity of character, a natural timidity which would not allow me to think of asking her assistance, as all the efforts of my friends in my favour might be rendered useless by the least wavering on her part at the moment of putting my plan into execution, and a thousand disasters ensue.

I received these first advices from my friends on the 2d of

January, and saw nothing of Ramona on the two following days. Don Marcelino, who appeared to be much occupied during the first days of the new year, remained but a short time with me; and I observed that even at night, when he came to administer to me the draught, he did not as usual enter into conversation with me respecting the books which he had brought.

On the 5th, while I was lost in a multitude of doubts and conjectures respecting the cause of Ramona's delay, I heard a whisper at the outer door, which immediately knew proceeded from her. On repairing to the aperture, she gave me some paper, and a better pencil than the one she had before furnished me with, and in a hurried and somewhat tremulous voice, said softly to me: "Be quick, and tell me in a low voice if you want any thing else. The prisoner who was confined in the passage above this has been removed to a dungeon close by, and I have not found before this time an opportunity of visiting you. Don Janito left his room this morning, and has begun meddling as usual. Should I be closely watched by him, the best way for you will be to write to me, putting your note under the pillow."

"Can you read well for I have much to say and to ask of you; but should you be inclined to refuse granting any of my requests, I beg you will pity me no more, nor urge any vain consolations."

"What can you require of me that I should be likely to refuse doing? My fears are only on your account; doubt not for a moment my willingness to serve you. Farewell."

Between the paper he gave me, I found a note from my friends, equally expressive as the former, in which I was informed that all I had recommended respecting Torrijos and my other friends had been done. I was, moreover, desired to say positively if I thought I could combine with them my escape from prison, as they had already devised various plans to favour it; that they would send to me whatever I stood in need of to overcome the first difficulties; and lastly, that if by some fatality my efforts failed, and I feared that cruel death would be the consequence, they would so far do violence to their feelings as to send me the means of depriving myself of life.

My plan of escape was then different from that which I finally adopted, and there is no doubt that, had I attempted it by any other means than the one through which I effected it, all would have been discovered. I could undertake nothing without first consulting Ramona. The small double iron-barred window of my dungeon was so high that it was impossible for me to reach it, and the walls were composed of a material in which the least impression would have been immediately observed. On the other hand, the doors of the dungeon were so contrived that, the one opening towards the other, the person passing through naturally exposed himself to be

crushed between them, particularly if he were unable to unlock the first, which I knew would be the case with me. With respect to the passages, staircases, and windings, I had passed through them several times; but I did not perfectly recollect the avenue leading out of the prison to the apartments of the jailers, so that nothing was more easy than to lose myself in that labyrinth. The first step, therefore, to be taken was to disclose my plans to Ramona, and ask her advice. I was the more impatient to do this, as I feared that all my hopes might be frustrated by the complete recovery of Don Juanito.

Dr. Gil visited me on that evening, and repeated what he had so often said,—that no improvement could be expected in my health as long as I remained without a fire in my dungeon, or I was not removed to a more comfortable one. Both his countenance and his words demonstrated that he was highly displeased at the manner in which I was treated, and that his visits would become less frequent. It was very evident that, notwithstanding his goodness of heart, he was wearied of attending on me. Previous to his withdrawing, he requested Don Marcelino to give me every night the same medicine I had been taking; adding that, unless absolutely wanted, he begged him not to send for him; after which, addressing himself to me, he said: "I am no longer wanted here, but I will nevertheless come occasionally to see you;" and bidding me farewell in a tone of compassion, slowly walked out of the dungeon.

On the morning of the following day (the 6th), Don Marcelino remained a long time with me, talking about the work of Bossuet, endeavouring to ascertain how much I had read of it. I was surprised it should not for a moment enter the minds of those men, that one reduced to my unhappy condition must see in the maxims of religion contained in those books (which he received through the medium of his oppressors, whose barbarous deeds offered the greatest contrast to the purity of the gospel, and to every principle of honour and rectitude) new motives for fomenting his abhorrence of their conduct.

At the usual hour Ramona made her appearance. "I bring nothing for you to-day," she said, "although I have already been at the appointed place."

"How is Don Juanito?"

"He seldom leaves his room. The other day he found himself the worse for going out, and as he is so nervous, he scarcely ever gives us the pleasure of his company."

"I am happy to hear it," I replied, "because I do not think it safe for us to communicate by writing."

"How!" she exclaimed; "do you mistrust me, or do you believe me indiscreet?"

"Neither," replied I; "but I will now ask you the last favour;

namely, to bring me two pistols, and a few other articles, which will be delivered to you by my friends."

"Are you mad?" she cried, "how horrible! That I will never do. I have often heard my master say that you wished to destroy yourself, and he always had a long consultation with the doctor whenever opium was prescribed for you. While I live, and am able to serve you, why should you wish to die?"

She said this, with so much earnestness, that I immediately endeavoured to calm her alarm by assuring her that I wished those weapons to effect my deliverance, not to destroy myself.

"Which way will you effect it?"

"Through the door. Nothing easier."

"You do not know the state of the prison at present. Do not bewilder me: give me time to observe things, and watch for an opportunity. I will apprise you of all that may occur; but do not expect even a pin from me to harm yourself with—no, never! The physician remained some time last night sitting by the fire with my master and Don Juanito; you formed their only subject of conversation, and I heard the doctor say, during the time I happened to be present, that the judges pressed him hard to put an end to his visits to you. My mistress asked him what ailed you? to which he replied with a smile, that your illness was most difficult to cure; in a word, that you were mad. To this my master said, showing some impatience, as he always does whenever he speaks of you, that, mad or sane, you had many firm supporters without, and that he would rather have thirty prisoners than *the bird*, who had so often deprived him of his sleep. The doctor replied, that there was not a single person without who ever thought of you."

Ramona related to me this conversation with the object of convincing me that my keepers did not sleep on their watch, especially when she added that every night her master took certain precautions which he had never before taken. A noise in the passage now obliging her to quit me, I remained alone, forming new plans and conjectures. The idea of the doctor pronouncing me mad had before now struck me as the means of prolonging the inaction of the tribunal in the continuation of my trial. The denial given me by Ramona, so greatly disconcerted me, that notwithstanding the traits of generosity she had shown, I began to doubt whether she would serve me in an emergency. I was, however, too sensible of Ramona's kind services to lose all hope of her assistance.

On the following day, I received a visit from Don Juanito, who did not fail to show his insolence to me, by saying among other things, that he found me much improved, and that the friction on my legs (speaking ironically of my fetters) was the surest specific to remove any oppression of the chest. I had beside me one of the books which I had been reading, and my first impulse was to throw it at his head; but restraining my anger, I opened it and took no

farther notice of him during the time he remained with me. Soon after, however, Don Marcelino entered, and assuming an air of gayety, said, either through stupidity or malice, "Well! how do you find Don Juanito after his illness? Is he the worse for it, think you? One can scarcely recognise him, he has grown so witty!" thus seconding with his foolish talk the insolence of his colleague.

The appearance of Don Juanito produced its effects. Five days elapsed before I saw any thing of my messenger. On the sixth, on returning to my dungeon after it had been cleaned, I found in the usual place, a note in which my friends informed me that Torrijos had answered, "not to be alarmed on his account; for that he, being a good fencer, would know how to parry the thrusts." I wrote, entreating them to undertake nothing for my escape without first consulting me; Ramona having excited serious apprehensions in my mind respecting the suspicions of the jailers.

On Don Marcelino coming in the evening to see me, he shut the doors after him, placed his lamp on the floor, and seating himself on my bed, began a flaming panegyric on the secretary of the council of the supreme, who, as he said, was very anxious to converse with me. I easily saw the drift of his eulogy, which was to prepare me for a visit that had been long meditated.

On the following day, Ramona came but for an instant, to take my answer to the note I had received from her, at the same time informing me that Don Juanito did not then watch her very closely, because he feared the damp air of those passages; but that nevertheless she could not remain with me any length of time till Sunday next. She, however, came on the two preceding days to see if I wanted any thing. Every time I saw her, I mentioned the subject of my intended flight; but her answers were short and intimidating; so that the progress I had hitherto made to obtain that object was but trifling.

On the night of the 15th Don Marcelino again repeated to me what he had before mentioned. "Mr. Castañeda," said he, "is very impatient to see you. It is high time that you should think about yourself. I have no doubt that the visit which that gentleman will by-and-by procure you will be very consoling to you; but he wishes you to listen to the virtuous sentiments of the person whom you will see."

"What visit can console me in this place?" I asked. "Alas! Don Marcelino, the visit of the masks I once saw here is too deeply imprinted on my memory to be forgotten by me as long as I live."

"Be calm, my dear Sir," he returned: "I do not allude to such a visit. The most important thing at present for you to think about is to get well. It is your father—yes! your father, who is to come and see you."

I own that I was surprised, though not agreeably; for, knowing the intention of his visit, such an interview could not fail to be

highly painful to me. Convinced, however, of the necessity of gaining time, I told Don Marcelino that I was very much obliged to Mr. Castañeda for his good wishes, and that I was most happy to hear that I should receive a visit from my respectable father. No sooner had I mentioned this, than Don Marcelino, evincing the greatest joy, seized the light, and hastened away, doubtless to inform his employers of the result of his errand.

Another day passed without my seeing Ramona; but on the following, I heard her voice at the usual hour, saying joyfully, that on that day there was no tribunal, and that Don Juanito had not left his room; adding that I might put to her any questions I pleased. I profited by this opportunity to paint in the strongest colours the true situation in which I stood, declaring to her that it was indispensable I should open myself a passage, or die. On hearing this, she uttered a thousand exclamations, and burst into a flood of tears, keeping me for several minutes in a state of confusion. "It is impossible," she cried, "for you to escape... my master's death would be the consequence... horrible! horrible! I do not regard my own life—no I do not."

"You will accompany me," exclaimed I, interrupting her.

"Then I should dishonour myself, and I am lost for ever."

In vain did I try every argument to persuade her to adopt this step: at length I asked her if she would bring me what my cousin would deliver to her. "I will bring nothing that may be injurious to you, or to my master: that is the only thing I will deny you. Dispose of me as you will; ask me any thing you please to effect your escape; I will refuse you nothing: but you must wait for an opportunity when every thing may weigh on Don Juanito. Let him be responsible for every thing: let him be the only sufferer—yes, the only one, for he deserves all. I will then bring you any thing you want, and lose my life to save yours; but in putting your plan into execution, think of some means of avoiding bloodshed. Let neither yours nor my master's blood be spilt, I entreat you, and I am ready to do all for you, for I see that you must no longer abide here; but you must not forget my entreaties." In this wild manner she proceeded for some time, until the fear of exciting suspicions made her quit me.

Since she agreed to procure for me the articles of which I stood in need, it was indifferent to me whether I formed my plan of escape upon Don Juanito, or upon Don Marcelino. Her timidity, however, required that I should not precipitate myself.

On the morning of the 19th, as soon as the light penetrated into my dungeon, I wrote to my friends, informing them that I believed my escape to be practicable, especially if I might depend on their co-operation; that I would inform them in my next letter of the kind of assistance I should require, and also fix the time for its execution; and lastly, that I begged them to procure me the means

for leaving Spain, through Portugal, in the company of another person with whom it was my intention to escape.

I meditated this journey without taking into consideration my deplorable state of weakness, which would probably have exposed me to some fatal disappointment, had not my friends arranged matters otherwise, through motives, the prudence of which I could not but acknowledge. I had just written my note when Don Marcelino entered, and renewed his conversation respecting the secretary of the council and the projected visit. I asked him if it would soon take place, to which he replied, that they waited only for my complete recovery to conduct me to an apartment of the Inquisition, where it was resolved my father should see me. It may be easily conceived how important it was for me to postpone that meeting, when there would be no other alternative left me than to betray my friends, or to submit to the torments which the cruelty of the arbiters of my destiny would devise.

An hour after Don Marcelino's visit, my confidential messenger came in great haste. The first thing was to give her the note, assuring her that, if my plans succeeded according to my wishes, nothing of what she feared would happen, especially if she would assist me in putting them into execution "Where does Don Juanito spend the evening?" I then inquired.

"Since he fell ill, he remains in his own room," she replied.

"What doors does Don Marcelino shut when he comes to bring the medicine?"

"I do not know, because I never enter the prison at that hour."

"Observe it then for two or three times with all possible care, and inform me of it."

"Is that all you wish?"

"That is enough, Ramona," I replied; "you will render me an essential service by your bringing me this intelligence."

"Depend upon me, I will do it without fail," she said, and withdrew.

Though I was constantly occupied with the subject of my intended flight, I did not, however, overlook the fate of Ramona, whom I always intended to save. We had not yet agreed on this point, which I conceived offered many difficulties. It was very probable that, by describing to her the dangers attending it, she might be intimidated; for she appeared to me more capable of feeling deeply than of acting with resolution: this at her age, and in her sex, was not surprising. On the other hand, I considered that it would be unjust in me to conceal from her the hazards of our undertaking; and yet I had remarked of late that she had foregone much of that serenity which she had at first shown. I lost many an hour of repose in endeavouring to reconcile these differences in my mind.

Persuaded that the only practicable way for me to make my

escape was through the doors, I kept my eyes constantly fixed on them, as well as on every thing connected with that intricate labyrinth; and, as it was my intention to effect it during the night, I listened attentively, a little before Don Marcelino's last visit, to the echo of the passages, in order to ascertain whether or not he shut the doors after him, and if he were accompanied by any one; but I could form no right judgment except of what immediately passed before my eyes. The two doors of my dungeon had each a strong bolt with a padlock to it, the same as the other five or six in the passages of the prison. As Don Marcelino was in the habit of coming unarmed every night, bringing the medicine in one hand and the lamp in the other, I imagined that it would be easy for me to compel him to guide me out of the prison.

CHAPTER XIII.

The jailer Don Juanito, having recovered, visits the author—His dungeon is rendered warmer—Important information respecting the doors—Portraits painted on the walls of a dungeon—The chapel called El Rosario—New plans of escape—The author writes to his friends on his purposed flight—Resolutions adopted by Ramona—Generous zeal of the author's friends—Don Marcelino's anecdotes and conversation with his prisoner.

Don Marcelino made his appearance on that night, accompanied by Don Juanito, and bringing more clothes for my bed. The latter said that, wishing my prompt recovery, they were going to improve the temperature of that *apartment*, (as he called it,) and that he would then be able occasionally to keep me company, adding a thousand impertinent observations respecting the trouble which he said I gave them all. I easily saw that the period of mildness commenced, that my recovery might enable the inquisitors to repeat fresh cruelties towards me; and the more I looked at Don Juanito's face, at his affected manners and malicious smile, the more confirmed was I in my conjectures.

On the following morning, they both came in, bringing a brasier (according to the Spanish fashion) to warm the dungeon. Don Juanito repeated his visits on that day, enveloped in his cloak. Whenever he happened to be alone with me, and saw me standing, he carried his hand to his bosom, where he concealed his arms. "You, with that long beard, do not feel the cold," said he; "but we, who walk along these passages, suffer a great deal in the winter." In this manner he went on, taunting me with ironical language, unpleasant to repeat, though very difficult to forget. My mind, however, was then more occupied with the obstacle which

the presence of this man opposed to my seeing Ramona on that day than with his discourse.

At length Sunday arrived; and my jailers, wishing to profit of that holyday, took away the brasier very early, leaving me to the full enjoyment of my solitude. Soon after I had the pleasure of seeing Ramona. "Don Juanito is gone out with my master," she said, in a tremulous voice, "but he is more vigilant than ever. Since his recovery he never ventured to enter the prison in the evening till last night, when he came in, and remained wrapped up in his cloak at the top of the first staircase. He ordered me to bring him a light, and taking from his pocket a book which he has carried about him for the last few days, began reading it with great attention."

"Well, but what have you done?" I interrupted.

"I have twice followed the steps of my master. The night before last, I came nearly as far as here, and I heard him speak with you. He does not shut the doors after him; but the whole prison remains in total darkness, as, except the light he leaves to the other prisoner close by, and that which he brings with him, no other is to be seen. The key of the third door is very difficult to manage; he always takes it out when he opens the passages for me; but when he comes alone he leaves it in the door. That key has been made since you were imprisoned here, and he never forgets to take it with him on going to bed, as well as the two keys belonging to these doors. Last night he had a long conversation with Don Juanito about you: wishing to know what they had to say, I concealed myself within hearing. That fool Don Juanito expressed himself very anxious that my master should read the book which he is himself perusing, saying that he would find in it the history of another *bird* as wicked and dangerous as yourself, who, he said, had escaped from several prisons, because the king of that country being a heretic had no inquisition, and consequently no jailers to be compared with those of the Holy Office."

On hearing Ramona mention a heretic king, I soon guessed that the book which occupied the attention of Don Juanito was no other than the history of Baron de Trenck; and wishing to induce her to accompany me in my flight, I related to her some part of it which bore some analogy to the generous conduct she had observed towards me.

"I do not wish to imitate any one," she replied sharply. "Do not bring me examples of foreigners, who might be actuated by very different motives from mine. We Spanish women resemble none but ourselves, and we must act in our own way. You remind me of Don Juanito with his ridiculous comparisons. My master may or may not read that book; and for myself I shall listen only to the impulses of my heart, and of my honour. If you succeed in escaping, I remain here in quiet, and sure of myself; and if you

fail, I shall know what to do without trying to imitate the actions of any one."

I endeavoured to engage her in this conversation so interesting to me, when she suddenly quitted me. Scarcely two minutes had elapsed before Don Juanito made his appearance, with a malicious smile on his countenance, which made me fear he had discovered something; but although Ramona's situation at that moment was very critical, her foresight prevented any misfortune. She had a little dog, so much attached to her that he followed her wherever she went, and which she was in the habit of leaving outside of the first door of the prison when she came to see me; so that whenever any one opened the door where it stood, it ran in to its mistress, thus announcing the approach of the person entering, whom it was easy for her to avoid meeting in the obscurity of those labyrinths.

On the following day, I was taken by both jailers to another dungeon more distant than the one I was usually confined in whilst mine was preparing. On entering, I observed that the walls were covered with portraits, and Don Marcelino asked me what I thought of them. "You see," he added, "that we have here good painters. Amuse yourself with looking at the drawings whilst your place is getting ready." Having said this, they both left me.

From the middle of this dungeon, which was larger and lighter than mine, I could see through the high window the steeple of a chapel called El Rosario. It was under the mats of this chapel, near the basin of holy water, where Ramona left my notes for my friends. The portraits sketched on the walls represented Francis I., Columbus, Henry IV., and Cortéz, and were done in such a masterly manner, that but for the materials with which they were painted, they deserved a better place. Doubtless, the artist was not very distant from me.

On returning to my dungeon, I found under my pillow a letter, in which there was a plan of every street in the vicinity of the prison. My friends, rejoiced at the hopes I had held out to them, described the places through which I ought to direct my course, and where I should meet one of the party, who would guide me to the asylum which was prepared for me; observing that the success of the project entirely depended on myself, for that every thing I should require in the way of assistance from without would be afforded me.

From the moment I entertained the hope of escaping, I commenced taking notes of the occurrences which happened to me in the Inquisition, Ramona having furnished me with the means of doing this. It was my intention to deliver them to her, that she might convey them to my friends; but such was the fatality that pursued me, that far from my seeing her at a moment when her presence was so necessary to concert with her my final arrangements, I was continually visited by one or other of the two jailers. Don Marcelino spent much of his time with me, always conversing

about the intended visit, and of the favourable results which he hoped it would produce. I nevertheless discovered a great uneasiness in my keepers, who seemed very anxious for my complete recovery; and I feared that the opportunity for putting my plan into execution would escape me by a farther delay.

On the morning of the 25th, seeing that Ramona did not appear, I employed the short intervals in which I was alone in writing to my friends the following note:—

"On the 30th of this month, between seven and eight in the evening, I shall attempt my escape: and should I then be prevented, it will be on one of the following evenings. I am resolved to die if I fail in the execution of my plan; but if I am fortunate enough to arrive among you, I must give myself up entirely to your direction." I then added a description of the singular attire in which I should present myself to them, that, by being informed of it, they might neither be surprised at my appearance, nor neglect to furnish me with some other articles of dress by which I might avoid detection. This note I enclosed in another, addressed to Ramona, in which I imparted to her my final resolution, expressing an earnest desire that she should follow me, and begging her to inform me with all possible haste of any unforeseen obstacle that might arise to thwart my intentions.

A few hours after I had written these notes, she came to do her work in my dungeon, and took them from under my pillow. I was, however, not fortunate enough to see her on that day; and even on the following she did but just show herself and mention the name of Don Juanito, when she suddenly disappeared. At length, on the third day (the 28th), I saw her but for a few minutes, during which she had only time to say, "For God's sake do not attempt anything until I have seen you. To-morrow the tribunal does not sit, and I will make an effort to come." Her sudden departure made me suspect that some remarkable occurrence had taken place at which she was alarmed.

I had already observed that, whenever the tribunal did not sit, my keepers bestowed but little of their time in attending upon me, consequently my solitude was less disturbed Sunday having arrived, my jailers were, indeed, more sparing of their visits; nevertheless I saw nothing of Ramona during the whole morning, which I spent in forming a thousand confused conjectures. I had never seen my messenger in the afternoon; but on this day, at about three, I heard a noise which I thought proceeded from my jailers, and was agreeably surprised at finding it was Ramona herself, who, delivering to me a note, said, "I must have caused you much uneasiness this morning, but it was unavoidable; and I assure you I have been obliged to assign more than one pretext in order to induce my master to allow me free entrance into the prison this afternoon. I tremble with apprehension at what you purpose doing to-morrow."

"Purpose doing?" I interrupted. "At what I *will* do to-morrow, you mean, or my name is not Van Halen."

"Wait till Don Juanito be again confined to his room," she cried: "the weak state of his health gives me reason to hope this may soon be the case."

"On a former occasion," returned I, "you advised me to deal entirely with Don Juanito, and now you advise the contrary."

"On a former occasion I feared for my master's life; now I fear for yours. Since Don Juanito's recovery he has seldom missed the nocturnal visit to the prison. You would meet with both, and, wo to me! what would then become of you?"

By this language Ramona, whose generous conduct had afforded me so much consolation, excited in me the most painful apprehensions, and added to my previous anxiety. No argument I could urge to induce her to follow me was of any avail; and having exhausted all my means of persuasion, I at length said to her: "Tell me now your determination: will you or will you not come?"

"If you should hurt my master, or if you should stand in need of my assistance against Don Juanito, and lastly, if I see myself obliged to aid you in an open manner in either of these cases, I am lost, and I will go and die in any place or country where you may take me; but if, on the contrary, it please heaven that you should obtain your liberty without having recourse to violence, then I have nothing to fear, and I ought to remain where I am, and return thanks to God for your liberation."

Here tears seemed to choke her utterance, and she leaned her head against the door. "If you succeed," she continued, "without my interference, no suspicion can be attached to me; but if I follow you, I convict myself at once."

I again endeavoured to persuade her to accede to my wishes by adducing such reasons as in my opinion were less objectionable, and which my reader must suppose sincere in a man who was actuated only by the deepest feelings of gratitude and admiration; but even these were ineffectual. She firmly believed that there could be no worse union than that emanating from mere gratitude; but she assured me that I might still reckon on her service, if, as she was persuaded, the state of my health prevented me from travelling. "Last night," she added, "Don Juanito did not accompany my master to the prison, and I took the opportunity of observing Don Marcelino, who did not shut any of the doors after him. Perhaps Don Juanito will attend to-night, or else to-morrow night; but you will know whether he does so, by observing if the plate on which my master brings the glass containing your medicine have a border to it; if it should not, you may be sure Don Juanito does not watch outside. This man," she continued, "always has a poignard concealed about him. As for my master's arms, I will manage so that they may hurt neither you nor him."

"What arms, then, shall I have recourse to if I should meet Don Juanito?" I inquired.

"If the plate have a border, I entreat you not to make the attempt," she replied, "both for your sake and mine."

I then gave her the notes I had taken, the pencil, and every thing else which it was not prudent should be found upon me in case of my failing in the attempt, and requested her to deliver them to my friends.

Ever since Ramona proffered her assistance to me, we had never spent so much time together, and so undisturbedly as on that afternoon. The reason of this was, that Don Marcelino's wife having on that day a visiter (a lady with whom she had been brought up), and Don Marcelino's politeness not allowing of their going alone to the promenade, he had, contrary to his custom, absented himself, leaving Ramona at home alone. Don Juanito, on the other hand, spent most of the festival days with his friends; so that the only individuals about the prison on those occasions, were the servants of the inquisitors, and the inferior attendants of the tribunal.

Night came, and Don Marcelino entered with the medicine in higher spirits than I had ever seen him. He related to me the various incidents that had amused him during his long walk, and then leaving the lamp with me, withdrew to visit, as I supposed, the other prisoner who was in my vicinity. I profited of this favourable opportunity to read the paper delivered to me by Ramona, in which my friends declared themselves ready to protect my flight, saying, among other things, that from the 30th the friend who was to wait for me outside the doors of the Inquisition would attend every night at seven o'clock; and referring to the plan already in my possession, they again pointed out to me the way I ought to follow on reaching the street. They also gave me a description of the person who would meet me, and the watchword which we were to employ on this occasion. I was far from thinking that the precautions taken by my friends to favour my flight could be so extensive as they proved to be.

On Don Marcelino's return, he again remained some time with me, his conversation turning on the everlasting topic of the intended visit. Had this been the night appointed for my escape, I could have accomplished it with less difficulty; for although I got into bed, immediately after taking the medicine, with my clothes on, as I generally did owing to the cold that prevailed in the dungeon, I had the jailer sitting by me, during the whole time he remained there, so entirely off his guard, that nothing could be easier for me than to have effected my escape. Desirous of giving me an idea of the mild treatment I should experience if matters were satisfactorily arranged, as he said, he related to me various anecdotes of the times of his father-in-law, who had had under his care a certain prisoner with whom he frequently used to go out walking in the evening.

a circumstance rather singular for the Inquisition, but which there is no doubt happened in those times of moderation, when this tribunal reckoned among its members the philosophio Llorente.

I had already examined well his person before he rose to withdraw, and I could discover no other arms than a pistol which he carried in the breast-pocket of his coat. As he closed the doors, I could not help exclaiming to myself, "To-morrow they shall give way before me, or I shall breathe my last within these walls."

CHAPTER XIV.

The author required to assume a new dress—Small gold cross found under his pillow—Perilous exertion—The author bolts his dungeon doors, leaving Don Marcelino as his prisoner—He effects his escape to the kitchen—Meeting with Ramona—Hue and cry—He escapes—His friends meet him in the street—They give him an immediate disguise—Asylum—Heroine of the war of independence—He resides with Captain Nuñez de Arenas—Generous spirit which animated the liberal party—Their increased numbers—Arco Agüero—Zorraquin—Infantes—Facio—Dominguez—Torrijos, and Romero Alpuente—Castañeda's hatred of the latter—Local situation of the Inquisition of the court at Madrid—Count of Montijo.

It was ten o'clock in the morning when the jailers entered, and the day dawned in my dungeon. "The weather is very foggy," said Don Marcelino; and I inwardly prayed heaven that it might continue so till night. I was desired to take off the tattered jacket, companion of my disasters, and to put on a green surtout, the same I wore when I went to the audience of the King. I was also informed that the barber would be called to cut my hair and shave my beard (which by this time rivalled that of any Capuchin friar), Don Marcelino hinting that the intended visit was approaching. This alteration in my appearance would have been insignificant in itself, had not my friends been already apprized of the attire in which I thought I should have presented myself to them.

At twelve o'clock dinner was brought to me, and at two I was conducted to the same dungeon where I had seen the paintings, and where I remained about an hour. On returning to my own, I hastened to look under the pillow, and found a small gold cross, and the same ear-ring which first inspired me with hope, both fastened to a hair chain: such were the hostile weapons which that innocent girl furnished me with to come out triumphant in my struggle.

During the short time that the brasier was left with me on the morning of this day, I took a piece of charcoal, with which, in the afternoon, I wrote in one of the blank pages of Bossuet a few lines addressed to Don Marcelino to the following effect: "That my evil fortune having placed me in the alternative of either being a traitor to my cause, or falling a victim to the cruelty of his employ-

ers, I had resolved to seek my liberty by forcible means; that I did not hesitate to acknowledge he was the least inhuman of those whom I had known in those dungeons; and lastly, that should my adverse fate pursue me so far as to render my attempt fruitless, I begged him to respect my misfortunes, should I be again intrusted to his custody." Thus I hoped to increase the confusion of my oppressors, if I succeeded in freeing myself from their grasp.

Uncertain how to dispose of the present Ramona had left for me, upon reflecting that in the event of a failure it would afford the most evident proof of her being an accomplice in my premeditated escape, I was compelled, much to my regret, to throw the chain and cross through the loop-hole of my dungeon, preserving only the ear-ring, which by its shape I was able to conceal, and which I have always preserved.

At length the hour for the execution of my plan drawing near, I listened attentively through the opening in the door, till hearing the distant noise of bolts, I retreated towards my bed. As soon as Don Marcelino entered, without recollecting the sign agreed upon respecting the plate, and fearing that this might be my last opportunity, I advanced towards him, extinguished the light, and pushing him violently to the farthest corner of the dungeon, flew to the door, and rushing through, shut it upon him and drew the bolt, at the same moment that he recovering himself threatened my life. Once in the passage, I groped along in complete darkness; but the astounding cries of the new prisoner echoed so loudly through those vaults, that fearing they might be heard, I no sooner arrived at the third door of that labyrinth, than locking it after me, I took out its ponderous key, with which I armed myself for want of a better weapon.

I passed the dungeon of the other prisoner confined in those passages, who, far from imagining the scene that was acting, mistook my steps for those of the jailer. Following my way at random, I twice lost myself in the various windings, and a thousand times did I curse the obscurity which threatened to frustrate all my hopes. At length, after groping about for seven or eight minutes, which appeared an eternity to me, I reached the last staircase, from which I could distinguish the glimmerings of a light. As I ascended the stairs, I grasped the key in the manner of a pistol, and soon after found myself at the threshold of a door wide open, that led to an outer kitchen, in the middle of which hung a lantern. I judged by this that I was already out of the prison; but uncertain what direction to follow, and hearing the voices of people in some part of the house, I stood still for a moment, and then hastened to the kitchen to look for a hatchet, or some other weapon that might serve me in case of meeting opposition.

On entering, the first object that presented itself was Ramona, who stood pale and breathless, with a countenance in which astonishment was blended with anxiety and alarm. "What pistol is

that?—where is my master?" she exclaimed, after a moment's silence, raising her clasped hands towards heaven.

I calmed her apprehensions by showing her the key, when, immediately recovering her presence of mind, she drew from her bosom the notes I had given her, and returning them to me, pointed to a court which led to the outer door, saying; "That is the way to the street. My mistress and her guest are in the saloon: you hear their voices. This is the very hour when she expects the arrival of some friends, and I must immediately call out, because they know I must necessarily see you before you get to the court. For heaven's sake hasten away, for I can render you no farther assistance." Saying this, she pressed my hands in her's with deep emotion, and I hurried towards the court. As the remainder of my way was also involved in darkness, I lost some minutes in finding the right direction to the door, when the rustling of the bell-wire served to guide me to it. Here I heard the voices of some persons outside, who certainly did not expect to meet with such a porter.

Meantime Ramona, who was to open the door, on hearing the bell ring, began screaming for assistance, as if she had been hurt by some one passing in great haste. The ladies, alarmed, joined their cries to her's, and I opened the door amidst this confusion, pushed down the person just entering, and reached the street, feeling as if I breathed a second life.

Following the direction pointed out to me by my friends, and avoiding the approach of some of the persons I saw lurking about the Inquisition, I turned the corner of that building, and met a tall man muffled up in his cloak, who, either having forgotten the watch-word agreed upon, or recognising me at the first moment, exclaimed, "Van Halen! Juan! is it you?"

"Yes, it is," I cried, my heart leaping with joy at hearing the voice of a friend. As soon as I returned this answer, he gave a shrill whistle, and suddenly I was surrounded by several other friends, among whom I recognised two old comrades of mine, whom I did not suppose so interested in my destiny. One took off my old cap, and placed his laced cocked-hat on my head; another gave me a cloak, which, he said, had been purposely made for me; a third desired me to follow him and fear nothing, for they would all lose their lives sooner than I should be retaken. They were all military men, whose high-wrought enthusiasm had led them to appear on this occasion in full uniform and decorations; and there is little doubt that, had I been pursued by my keepers, they would all have perished at their hands. I followed my friends, enveloped in my cloak, though still with the green slippers I wore in the prison. On crossing over the street of San Bernardo, which runs parallel with the prison, one of those who accompanied me took the lead to guide us; another remained with me; and the rest dispersed gradually as we advanced. On arriving at the street of Tudescos, we

stopped before a large newly-built house, the principal door of which, contrary to the custom of the country, stood a little open. Having entered and reached the first landing place, we met a large masquerading party who were just coming out of the principal rooms. Although wrapped up in my cloak, and my face well concealed, I was afraid that my slippers, attracting their attention, might lead to a discovery; and I hinted to my friends that this house did not appear to me the most suitable for a place of concealment. They were, however, of a different opinion, and we continued ascending the stairs till we reached the attics, where I found the asylum prepared for me intrusted to the care of one of the Spanish heroines, who had figured during the last war with the French in her native province, Biscay. She was still young, had an animated countenance, and the clear complexion of the women of her province. Though she had been previously warned of my arrival, as she was ignorant of most of the circumstances that led me there, she seemed a good deal surprised at seeing me appear in that singular dress and long beard.

In her humble apartments, every thing was arranged with the most scrupulous neatness; but my inquietude did not allow me at that moment to pay much attention to the objects around me, which being observed by her, who ignorant of the cause of my uneasiness attributed it to mistrust, she hastened to dissipate it by assuring me that I had nothing to apprehend either from her, or in her house; as from the moment she learnt the honourable charge that was to be intrusted to her, she had sent away her servant, and consequently she was the mistress, nurse, and only depositary of the secrets that might transpire within those walls. She then leisurely showed me the rooms that constituted her apartment, which were two bedchambers, a small sitting-room, and a kitchen, the thin wall of which separated the other half of the garret, the abode of a poor tailor, who was encumbered with a numerous family, and deeply sunk in every kind of misery. On hearing her account of that man's distress, I could not help thinking that he might be induced to alleviate his wretched situation by some fatal denunciation, should he ever entertain a suspicion of the real character of his neighbour. I imparted to that good woman my apprehensions, as well as the accidental meeting with the masquerading party, and openly declared to her my resolution of not remaining there that night. She agreed with me that there might be reason for fear, and did me the justice to believe that she in no way inspired me with mistrust.

Captain Nuñez de Arenas, an old friend of mine, aware that such an occurrence might happen, had, many days before my escape, hired an unfurnished apartment in a distant part of the town, in which he caused to be brought a few articles of furniture, among which was a sofa-bedstead; though by so doing he subjected himself to a very different kind of suspicion.

To this place I was conducted by my two guides, who agreed

with me that there was danger in my remaining here; and as they boarded with the families in whose houses they were quartered, to avoid exciting any suspicions they left me in my new asylum, assuring me that it would not be long before Nuñez de Arenas would appear. It was even so; for before many minutes had elapsed, I saw him enter, loaded, as one who goes to an encampment, with various indispensable things, which he was resolved to share with me as long as I should remain there. We were then ignorant that within a few steps of our abode lived the military fiscal, who had commenced the cause instituted against me.

The night passed swiftly on, in mutually relating to each other the various adventures we had met with since our last parting. Nuñez de Arenas, deeply moved at the narrative of my sufferings,* and at the still visible marks of the barbarous treatment I had experienced, could scarcely contain his indignation, and with his natural energy swore an inextinguishable hatred to my persecutors, and an eternal friendship to me: he did more—he kept his word.

Notwithstanding the tolerably correct information I possessed, previous to my arrest, of the extensive relations existing among my friends, and of the favourable ideas I had since formed of their increasing numbers, I never imagined they rested on such a solid basis of organization as that in which I found them at the time of my escape from the Inquisition. I shall leave to a more experienced writer the task of presenting in all their details the gallant actions which the events of that period gave rise to, and which may serve as an instructive lesson to every oppressive government, confining myself solely to those connected with my narrative.

It is a fact no less honourable to the Spanish patriots than gratifying for me to state, that among the individuals who acted with me in the same cause, there is only one whom we have had the grief to see steering in an opposite course from the noble one in which he had at first entered. I mean the Count of Montijo, who, wanting the high-mindedness required at a crisis when the national honour was at stake, listened only to his personal resentment, confounding the actors with the play, and principles with actions; thus becoming the partisan rather of circumstances than of reason.

The directive power of the association, which was removed from Granada to Madrid shortly after my arrest, was nearly all composed of military men; such as Arco Agüero,† Zorraquin,‡ Infantes,§ Nuñez de Arenas,‖ Facio,¶ Patricio and Juaquin Dominguez,**

* See Note C.

† Then a colonel, and afterwards general of the army of Estramadura.

‡ Then brigade-general and officer of engineers, and afterwards general, and chief of the staff in the army of Mina.

§ Also an officer of engineers.

‖ Captain of artillery.

¶ Captain of the royal guards.

** Two brothers; the one chief of the squadron of artillery stationed in the capital, and the other, lieutenant-colonel of a regiment in garrison at Madrid.

Polo,* &c. &c., all under the presidency of a respectable magistrate of the capital, whose high post brought him in close contact with the leading members of the government, and whose interesting family held one of the most select tertulias of Madrid, where men of various parties assembled, a circumstance which gave the chief of it an opportunity of learning what passed in the Camarilla from day to day, as well as the measures of espionage adopted by our enemies to discover the place of my retreat.

The precautions taken by my friends to communicate with each other were of such a nature, that without attracting the attention of any one by holding meetings, or endangering the safety of the members, the most important question might be discussed in one day by means of what is called a triangular chain, where one of the three individuals who form a triangle is known to two more, who with himself constitute another, so that every deliberation ran from one to the other, whether it commenced at the head, the centre, or the extremity. Herrera, Davila, Belda, Solano, with other officers of artillery and engineers; Luzuriaga, Villanueva, Saumell, Arjona, and a great many others of the civil class, as well as several of the individuals to whom the letters without signatures, which were in the possession of the inquisitors, belonged, composed the subaltern societies of the capital. No sooner were they apprised of my situation in the Inquisition, than they all began to act in concert in my behalf by means of the triangular chain.

Nuñez de Arenas, who, as I have said, spent the night with me, related to me, with his natural gayety of heart, many occurrences both amusing and important. From him I heard with grief that the brigade-general Torrijos, the venerable magistrate Don Juan Romero Alpuente, and several other friends, had been imprisoned in Alicante, and in the dungeons of the Inquisition of Murcia. This fact my friends had studiously concealed from me whilst I was in the Inquisition, afraid that it might intimidate me in my projected plan of escape, which in their opinion was rendered the more indispensable as they knew that fresh charges would be brought against me by the inquisitors, which might have led to fresh calamities. Hence, from the moment they saw that the tribunal proceeded to fresh arrests, they resolved to snatch me, dead or alive, from the hands of its members, as it was natural to suppose that by my disappearance the multitude of proofs which might have resulted from an explanation of the papers belonging to me, were rendered null. This conclusion was verified by the event; for on the inquisitors losing their prey, they followed up the cause only for form's sake, and to vent their rage and disappointment on the prisoners who were still in their power, by multiplying their sufferings, and leaving them to die in their dungeons.

* Captain of artillery.

The reader may remember the dialogue I had in the prisons of Murcia with the senior inquisitor Castañeda, and from it infer whether, Romero Alpuente once in his power, he was likely to forget his promise of making him drink to the very dregs the bitter cup which he was so anxious to administer. It is certain that Berdeja, a year after my escape, drew up a document for the council of the supreme, in which it was stated that nothing sufficiently important, resulting from the proceedings instituted against the individuals confined in the prisons of Murcia and Valencia, implicated in my cause, was found to justify the passing of a sentence of death against any of them; and that the hope of again seizing me being relinquished, without which it was impossible to effect their conviction, he was of opinion that, under the pretence of carrying on the trials, the prisoners should be kept in close confinement for any period of time that might be deemed proper. He then named those whom he recommended should be thus condemned to a perpetual imprisonment, a list of whom I have at this time in my possession; whilst the rest, who appeared to him more insignificant, should be released.

So great was the importance attached by my friends to my liberation, that even before they knew I was planning my escape, they had formed two projects with a similar object; one of which was to undermine the prison, and the other to enter it on a dark night by force. I will describe its situation before I proceed to give an account of both.

The building of the Inquisition occupies a third part of the row of houses that faces the street of the same name: the back looks towards that of San Bernardo; one of its sides into the square of Santo Domingo; and the other into the narrow street through which I first passed on the night I made my escape, and in the middle of which stood a large house, at that time inhabited by several officers of the staff whom the government had appointed to write the military history of the war of independence. Manzanares and Polo, who were of that number, having the keys of that building at their disposal, had examined it well, and discovered that it was contiguous to the interior walls of the prison, and that from its cellars a subterraneous passage was practicable. Nuñez de Arenas, however, who feared they might err in giving a proper direction to the mine, and thereby increase my sufferings, conceived the plan of attacking with the assistance of his friends all masked, the house of the jailers, and compel them to conduct them to my prison.

While my friends were engaged in these plans, more or less retarded by unforeseen obstacles, they received my first note, in which I hinted the possibility of my escape in the company of another person, mentioning the kind of assistance I was likely to stand in need of. This inspired them with fresh hopes, and they all acted with a disinterestedness and generosity of which there are few examples.

Immediately Nuñez de Arenas repaired to Count Montijo, who being then very closely watched by the government, and surrounded by spies of all classes, was obliged to avoid the company of his suspected friends; but who, on hearing the projected plan of escape, placed in Nuñez's hands a considerable sum of money, which, however, was afterwards returned to him untouched; at the same time offering one or more of his best horses, and whatever else might be required for my flight. Nuñez assured me that the enthusiasm felt by our friends was such, that every one of them was ready to sacrifice his all, if necessary, to rescue me.

Young Belda, who had undertaken to seek an asylum for me, spoke to the Biscayan woman, who readily offered to receive me, without however confiding to her either my name or circumstances. In consequence of the suspicions entertained not only by Arco Agüero and Montijo, but by most of our friends respecting the services of Ramona, my notes and the whole plan of my escape (which they feared was a snare laid by the inquisitors to secure those who should attend, and increase the number of their victims), it was resolved, that only three should attend on the night of my escape. These were Polo, Belda, and Nuñez. On the morning of the 30th, however, the least apprehensive resolved to share with the three others any dangers that might arise, by stationing themselves at night-fall in the various avenues to the prison. The two brothers, Patricio and Juaquin Dominguez, placed themselves opposite to the door through which I gained the street. They were the same whom I first saw and avoided meeting, and they noticed my unceremonious rencontre with Don Marcelino's visiter, who was a garde-de-corps. Manzanares stood at the corner of the street, and was the one who spoke to me. Polo, Belda, and the two Dominguez, were those who came at the signal of the above, and Patricio the one who covered me with the cloak, and who by his character of command secured us against any impediments which the guards or patroles we might meet with were likely to occasion. Nuñez, Herrera, Davila, Solano, and others, whom I did not then see, because they were stationed in an opposite direction to the one I followed, were also of the number. Such were the well-concerted measures adopted by these trusty friends to ensure my escape.

CHAPTER XV.

Scenes which took place in the prison—Discovery of the imprisoned jailer—Examination of the prisoner of an adjoining cell respecting the late escape—The author visits Arco Agüero—His mother receives the first news of his flight from the inquisitor Etenar—Return to the apartment of the Biscayan heroine—Her history—Letter to Castañeda, inquisitor of Murcia—Ferdinand VII. appears entertained at the escape of the author—Spies of Arjona, corregidor of Madrid—The author meets his friends severally on the Prado at night—His interview with his cousin Murfy—Anecdotes of Ramona—Fears for her safety—Adventure on the Prado—Curious superstition—Masses for the dead—Marquis of Matafiorida—The author is apprised of his retreat being discovered—Don Juan Van Halen's card of compliments to Etenar, counsellor of the Inquisition.

WHILST the occurrences described in the foregoing chapter were passing, another scene was acting in the prison.

The wife of Don Marcelino, alarmed at Ramona's screams, and at the treatment her visiter had met with, and fearing for her husband's life, hastened regardless of all danger towards the dungeons, guided by Ramona, and followed by her guests. As she proceeded along the passages, she repeated Don Marcelino's name with loud cries, and fainted away on reaching the door which I had locked, and which prevented her farther ingress. Ramona has since confessed to me, that she was so greatly distressed at seeing the affliction of her mistress, that she had resolved to denounce herself, when Don Juanito appearing, followed by several of the inferior attendants of the tribunal, who were attracted by those cries, abruptly bid them withdraw, and without paying any attention to the clamorous entreaties of Don Marcelino, which echoed along the passages, entered the dungeon of the other prisoner, snatched the light which had been left him, and by which he was reading, and shut the remaining doors of the prison.

At eleven o'clock at night, Berdeja, accompanied by one of his colleagues, went into the prison, and causing the door of which I had the key to be forced, entered my dungeon, where they found Don Marcelino frantic with despair. A verbal process was immediately drawn up, his person examined, as well as the dungeon, and the books, in one of which they read the lines written with the charcoal, that I had left for their perusal. Don Marcelino was then put under arrest, and Don Juanito made responsible for the security of his person, and for that of the whole family. Not contented with this, the inquisitors proceeded to examine my neighbour, who, far from having the remotest idea of what had occurred, was himself

lost in conjectures respecting the cause of the uproar he had heard.*

"What have you remarked to-night in this prison?" inquired Berdeja, gravely.

"The absence of that silence which eternally reigns in this place," he answered.

"At what hour did you see the first jailer?" returned the inquisitor.

"I dont know, because here it is always night."

"But did you not hear any strange noises? Did you not hear the report of a pistol?"

He shrugged up his shoulders, and as if sharing in their astonishment, said nothing by which their curiosity might be gratified, and laughed at their loss and disappointment.

The inquisitor-general was sunk in a profound sleep when Berdeja, accompanied by Don Juanito, presented himself at his palace, and awoke him to impart to him the disagreeable intelligence of my escape. So great was the shock he received by it that his health, already impaired by age, was materially injured from this night.

On the day after my escape, I was visited and attended by several of my friends. The two brothers Pasate, both officers on half-pay, and who lived in a small retired house without a servant, were my chief cooks on that day; whilst Nuñez, who brought the provisions under his cloak, spread the cloth upon our sofa, and we sat down to our banquet. So strict and extensive was the espionage of the Inquisition, that it would have been the height of imprudence in us to have trusted to servants.

Meantime, Polo and Belda, who had ascertained enough respecting the masquerading party to quiet our apprehensions, proposed my returning to the apartments of the Biscayan woman, who again showed herself offended at my departure from her house, which she attributed to a want of confidence in her. The rest of my friends being of opinion that there was no risk in residing with her, I acceded to their wishes; and at night Patricio Dominguez and Manzanares came in provided with wearing apparel for me, when, after a distribution of my spoils among them to serve as a memorial of that day, we set out for my new abode. On our road Manzanares hinted that he wished to take me to the house of a friend who lived close by; and taking the lead, we all followed him. On arriving at the street of Foncarral, he knocked at the door of a small house, where we were received by Arco Agüero, who was waiting for us. This gallant chief, who frequented the first societies of the capital, was *au fait* of all the anecdotes of the court; and from him I learned

* In the year 1821, I met him in Madrid, and learned that the cause of his imprisonment was in no way connected with politics. A few months after my escape, he was sent to a monastery in Castile, to perform there certain penances which the Holy Office deemed necessary for the salvation of his soul. He gave me a long and amusing narrative of his adventures. Indeed, I have known few men more witty or satirical.

that my anxious mother, still ignorant of my escape, had presented herself on that day to the inquisitor Etenar, who was one of the least prejudiced against me, to plead for me, and interest him in my behalf, and that this respectable old man surprised her agreeably by saying, "That all his influence could not effect half so much as what I had done for myself; for that I had escaped from the prison sixteen hours ago." In this manner did the first intelligence of my flight reach my family.

On our arrival at the apartments of the Biscayan woman, I observed that the greatest silence prevailed in the upper part of the house, and I was informed by her, that she had taken the precaution of telling the tailor and his family that she expected a guest who was in bad health and of very retired habits, and who, as she had been given to understand, would pay well provided he found the place quiet. This hint, together with the independent manner in which people live at Madrid in lodging-houses, produced the desired effect; for during the whole time I remained there, no one ever troubled us, or showed the least curiosity.

My nurse seemed not at all a stranger to these kind of adventures. Belda, who was the only one of my friends who was intimately acquainted with her, related to me her history, of which the following is the substance.

Still very young and an orphan at the time of Napoleon's invasion, she was residing in her native village, when a party of French gens-d'armes entered it, and murdered in cold blood a young man of the place of whom she was passionately fond. Frantic at the loss she experienced by his death, and burning to avenge on the intruders the deep injury she had sustained, she devoted herself from that day to the defence of her country, rendering very important services to the chiefs of the guerillas, who were engaged in the warfare of that province, until she was taken by the French, and conducted to France, to a depôt of prisoners, where she suffered a thousand miseries and outrages from her jailers. Restored to her country at the general peace, the Spanish government granted her a mean pension, and the use of a medal, which she constantly wore, and by which she was distinguished wherever she went.*

We had agreed at Arco Agüero's that I should remain in Madrid until I had entirely recovered my health, attended by a surgeon of the name of Saumell, and that I should see in my asylum as few of my friends as possible. We also agreed to form a system of espionage against the inquisitors themselves, Nuñez de Arenas being the Fouché of our counterplot, whilst Belda and Polo offered to share with me my solitude, to which I gladly subscribed. It was the general opinion among our party that the report of my departure from Madrid should be widely spread, and with this object they

* The Cortes in 1820, in consideration of her services and sufferings, increased her pension to enable her to live with more comfort.

wrote to their friends in the provinces, desiring them to propagate the rumour. There was no great difficulty in doing this with all the speed required by circumstances; but we were ignorant then that the inquisitors possessed sufficient data to believe the contrary. It was now my turn to put the seal to this plan. I remembered that the senior inquisitor of Murcia, Castañeda, had desired me to write to him immediately after obtaining my liberty. He had now under his power several very dear friends of ours, with whom it was desirable he should follow the same gentlemanly conduct which he had observed towards me. I resolved, therefore, to write him a letter expressive of the sentiments of gratitude I felt towards him; a copy of which I here present to my reader.

"To Don Juan Castañeda, senior inquisitor of Murcia, &c.

"Respected Sir,

"In the alternative of losing my life or my honour, I resolved to free myself from the numberless acts of oppression which I endured with all possible humility in the sepulchral abode in which I had been immured. Having succeeded in forcibly obtaining my liberty, which during 131 days I vainly expected from the justice due to my innocence, and wishing to allay the fears of those who take an interest in my destiny, I take the earliest opportunity to fulfil the promise which I gave you of writing as soon as I should enjoy this inestimable good.

"I am aware that the motive which prompted you to make this request, when we parted at the gates of Murcia, was founded on very different hopes. You, doubtless, believed that when I offered to speak privately to the King, the truth and sincerity which I promised to use on that occasion would have had a different object in view. I can, however, assure you that I performed my promise in the full meaning I then attached to it. I spoke to his Majesty, and laid before his eyes truths which, perchance, he may one day appreciate to the full extent of their worth. I disclosed such facts as alone belonged to me. I did not overstep these limits; the sacred duties which I had imposed on myself did not allow me to betray secrets which would have involved others in my own calamities. Hence, neither splendid offers, nor flattery, nor the contrast of every kind of affliction which I have endured throughout so many bitter days and nights, nor even the gloomy perspective that was before my eyes—a death on a bed of torture—could induce me to deviate from the path which honour and principle pointed out to me. I should cheerfully have resigned my life to preserve what I value more. This, which in the eyes of ignorance and depravity may appear the result of blind obstinacy, will not be so considered by the virtuous and enlightened man, who knows how to weigh in the scale of reason the actions of his fellow-beings.

"I am now a wanderer in a foreign land; but I do not fly like a

seditious rebel, seeking a haunt where to hatch new conspiracies. No, I never was one. I go only to seek the company of a few honourable men, with whom I may spend a peaceable existence during my painful exile. Should I one day be able to enjoy the same benefits in my unhappy country, I will gladly return to its bosom to comfort my beloved parents in their old age, and manifest my gratitude to you for the generous conduct you observed towards me.

"I have been subjected to many indignities, violences, and secret torments. Nothing seems to have been omitted to trample me down, and destroy me; but the consciousness of my innocence rendered me superior to all: crime alone would have sunk under them; and although, as a man, I am not free from faults, my heart always revolted against depravity. You know little of me; but if you read the proceedings of my cause, you will see corroborated in them these truths, which offer sufficient matter for our consideration. I do not, however, aspire in this letter to a correspondence with you, neither do I wish that it should in any way compromise you with the government. My only object is to show that my heart is not known to the authors of my misfortunes; and that it is and always will be grateful to you, from whom I now take my perhaps last farewell.

"I remain, &c. &c."

This letter was dated from Bordeaux, February 20th, 1818, and was forwarded by Polo to a friend of his, who was then residing in that city, to be put in the post-office. Castañeda received it in due time, and believing it to have been written in the place from which it was dated, he immediately forwarded it to his friends in the capital.

The inquisitors informed the King of my escape on the morning after it took place, as well as of the circumstances attending it. I have learned from a person who was then present, that Ferdinand, on hearing it, burst into a loud laugh. Ramirez de Arellano, who was in the daily habit of hearing mass at a church contiguous to the palace, received the news of my flight when he was just returning from it to his breakfast, and frantic with rage, hastened to put in motion all the elements of the Camarilla. In accordance with the anxious wishes of the Bishop Mier, he prevailed on the whole ministry to lend their assistance in endeavouring to discover my retreat. Immediately orders were issued to every inquisition in the kingdom, and to all the captains-general of the provinces, to keep a strict look out for me, whilst large rewards were offered for my discovery.

Arjona, who was a creature of the Camarilla, and one of its most active agents, held at this period the office of corregidor* of Madrid. His spies spread themselves like overflowing waters throughout every corner of the capital; but such is the spirit of our age, that a brother of this same Arjona, a canon of the cathedral of Cordova,

* A sort of police magistrate

at that time living at Madrid in the house of his brother, was one of the initiated in my flight; and whilst the authorities were redoubling their vigilance in my pursuit, this good ecclesiastic made every effort to shelter me from it. In one of the many conversations which his brother held with him respecting my escape, he said in a tone of exasperation: "Our hair will turn gray in this search after Van Halen; but dearly shall he rue it, if ever we secure him!"

The surgeon Saumell, under whose care I now was, offered a coincidence no less singular than the above. He was a companion of Dr. Gil, and likewise a surgeon in the body guards.

Nuñez had now organized his counter inquisition, in which friendship did for us what neither gold nor the corrupting influence of my persecutors could accomplish for them. Secure from their pursuit, I passed my days in my humble abode far more tranquilly than the plotters of my ruin in the vain ostentation of their saloons. From the first day Polo became my constant companion, and shared cheerfully with me my retirement; but as circumstances imperiously required that the place of my residence should be known but to a few, I was alternately visited only by Belda, Nuñez de Arenas, Zorraquin, Arco Agüero, Infantes, and Manzanares. It was, however, agreed that I should occasionally go out at night, when the light of the moon should not betray me, that I might have the pleasure of embracing many who were entitled to my deepest gratitude.

As we had not yet been able to ascertain how far we might trust ourselves in private houses without incurring any risk of discovery, we fixed upon the Prado* as the most suitable place for our meetings. Polo arranged the interviews, at which only those attended whom he or Belda had previously warned. In these meetings friendship presented itself in its most glowing colours, and the anecdotes of that period are very numerous.

The first time I went out with Polo, which happened a few days after my escape, unable to resist the desire of passing before my father's house, which was within a short walk of the place of my residence, we proceeded thither, and I saw my sisters sitting with my mother near the balcony, all of them quietly engaged in their needlework; whilst some men, stationed at various distances opposite to the windows, were watching their movements. This Polo and myself perceived only when we were close to them; but as we were enveloped in our cloaks, we were fortunate enough to pass by without any bad consequences resulting from this slight caprice of mine, which, however, I was too cautious to repeat. From this circumstance we inferred that my enemies believed I had been imprudent enough to conceal myself in my father's house.

My cousin was the first of my friends who was appointed to meet me. Polo entered his apartment to warn him of our meeting at the

* A public promenade which embellishes the capital.

very moment when my father was sitting with him, expressing his fears of my being retaken. Murfy, having heard Polo's communication, introduced him to my father as a friend of mine, assuring him that he knew for certain I was already out of the kingdom. This allowable fiction had the effect of allaying my father's apprehensions.

Although before my imprisonment I kept up a correspondence with my cousin, and was now more closely united to him by new ties of gratitude, we had not seen each other for many years. Murfy had only returned to Spain about a year previous to this period from the South American seas, where I had met him in the first stage of my naval career, so that Polo introduced him to me when we met on the Prado. Ramona's messages were our first topic of conversation in this agreeable interview. My cousin related to me the cautious manner in which she had delivered them: the readiness and perspicuity with which she had answered all his questions; the prudence she had displayed in arranging her plan of communication; and lastly, the extraordinary disinterestedness she had evinced, refusing money or any kind of present. We did not then know what had become of her, nor was it possible for us even to imagine, an impenetrable wall concealing from our view the secret manœuvres of the inquisitors. Murfy, who knew the time when she usually went out, had often, after my escape, gone to the place where he was in the habit of meeting her, with the object of ascertaining what had since taken place in the Inquisition, but he always returned without seeing any thing of her; a circumstance from which we inferred that the rigours of the Holy Office had now reached her. It was, however, our firm opinion that a woman, who had done so much out of pure humanity, would, even in the midst of sufferings, know how to support the work she had herself raised, by showing as much firmness and courage as she had evinced generosity. One day that my cousin endeavoured to discover whether the tyranny of the inquisitors could intimidate her, she answered him in her usual laconic manner: "From a child I was brought up among those men. The Inquisition does not inspire me with fear; it is rather the prisoner who inspires me with compassion." Another day that he showed his surprise at the inquisitors permitting a female to reside among them, or at all relying upon her, she retorted, "If every woman had learned discretion in the same school as myself, we should hear less of our incapacity to keep a secret from those who are far weaker than ourselves." Lastly, my cousin imagining that she was actuated by love, the deep interest she manifested for my welfare justifying this belief, allowed himself a few jokes on gallant intrigues. Ramona, without stooping to prove the contrary by the thousand cogent reasons with which she might have convinced him, reddened, and casting on him a look of contempt, as she withdrew, said: "Do not give me such a wretched idea of yourself. Must our sex be necessarily frail, if we show an

interest for a man whose life is in danger?" I have deemed it proper to relate these anecdotes, which characterize one of the extraordinary women who are frequently met with among the Spanish females.

Murfy, like many individuals found in Spain in calamitous epochs, who, though possessing enlightened minds, and feeling the necessity of a political regeneration, are nevertheless inactive spectators of the struggle, was as ignorant of the real character of the Inquisition, when first Ramona came to wake him from his trance, as of the existence of any secret societies in Spain; when my communications led him to make the acquaintance of Nuñez, Polo, and others, who were actively employed in bringing about the desired change in the government. On his return from the New World, where he had spent the best part of his youth, he passed through France on his way to Spain, and made a short residence at Paris. Here some wags, taking advantage of his natural simplicity of character, introduced him into a lodge of freemasons, where he was made to undergo a multitude of ridiculous ceremonies. Disgusted with the fraternity and their absurdities, and imagining he would find every where the same eagerness in its members to obtain contributions, and riot in expensive banquets, he renounced, a few days after being initiated in the mysteries of freemasonry, its pantomimic duties; looking with utter contempt upon that which, if differently managed, would have appeared to him equally sacred and binding, but which could not be otherwise in a country where the subtlety of the government has done the utmost to destroy with what is *ridiculous* that which could not be obtained by *rigour;* the former being of itself sufficient to dissipate the illusion, while the latter excites curiosity by the very alarm it causes. The contempt, however, which my cousin entertained for the fraternity was so deeply rooted, that if, instead of the visit of my prudent messenger, he had received that of any of our friends, there is no doubt that, had he been accosted with the usual masonic signs, he would have considered him in the light of a punchinello, and have ordered him out of his house, while I should have continued pining in my dungeon.

My two young brothers, though not having the same cause of dislike as my cousin, shared his opinions on freemasonry. They were in habits of intimacy with Murfy, at whose house they frequently met Polo; but as they were ignorant of the various circumstances by which I had effected my liberty, they did not even suspect that the guest with whom they frequently dined at their cousin's, was one of the principal characters in that drama. As it was thought prudent not to inform them of any thing respecting me, they, like my father, were made to believe that I was already far from my native land.

The first essay of our nocturnal meetings having been accom-

plished without difficulty, we repeated our sallies whenever we wished to see any of our friends. The Prado of Madrid is, during those months (February and March), one of the coldest places within the walls of the capital; but in return it was the most unfrequented and secure that we could select for that purpose. We were not, however, altogether free from alarms, while, on the other hand, we ran the hazard of many unpleasant rencontres on our way from my dwelling to the Prado, which were a tolerable distance from each other.

One of the friends who was to meet me there had married a lady whose excessive jealousy prompted her to commit every kind of extravagance. Resolved on following his steps, she chose for this purpose the night which we had appointed to meet her husband; and the nearer she approached the place of rendezvous, the more she was confirmed in her suspicions. The feeble light of the lamps, and the dark shade cast by the trees, while they concealed her from our view, enabled her to examine leisurely the sort of persons with whom her husband conversed. Her jealousy being thus allayed, she was just returning, perfectly satisfied of her husband's fidelity, when in turning down an alley she met another friend of ours, who, muffled up in his cloak, was hastening to our rendezvous. Being in the habit of carrying on these occasions a long unsheathed sword, hanging from his arm, which was not at that moment sufficiently concealed, the lady, who saw the glittering of the steel, and whose imagination was in a constant state of excitement, suddenly transformed what before had appeared to her an intrigue of gallantry into a duel. Under this persuasion she rushed towards him, unmuffled him, and seizing his hands, prayed amidst sobs and tears that he would employ that steel in preserving the life of her beloved husband. Our friend, surprised at finding at such a time and in that solitary place his wife's sister, immediately understood the origin of her fears, and prudently explained the matter to her, advising her to return home, and restrain her unjust suspicions, which by the extreme violence of their expression might become fatal. This advice was the more just, as this unfortunate lady being frequently engaged with company at home, would send a servant after her husband to watch his movements

The streets of Madrid were at that period infested at night by a crowd of idle fellows, carrying a lantern in one hand and a little bell in the other, which they ra ng incessantly, terrify ng the inhabitants with their mournful cries and gloomy songs, exhorting them to repent of their sins and give alms to say masses for the souls of those who had died in mortal sin. So great was the sycophancy of many to the superstitious ideas of the government, that one frequently met among that rabble officers of the army, and decorated persons, girding their swords, and carrying their bells and lanterns. These public disturbers were vulgarly called *the brethren of the*

mortal sin, and had free access to the cabinet of the minister of war. Polo and myself amused ourselves in observing them on our return from the Prado along the streets; but one night, having approached too near to see if we knew any of them, we met with the military fiscal, whose acquaintance I had made in the Inquisition. This ridiculous man, who was stationed alone at the corner of a street, ringing his bell and waving his lantern, vociferated as I passed by him, without his ever suspecting who I was, to contribute with our purses to the salvation of souls—less black, perhaps, than his own. By such hypocritical means as this, those who were employed in enslaving the people by day, cheated them at night; and such were the officers whom the doting minister Eguia wished to give to the Spanish army.

A few steps farther, and when it would have been indiscreet to retrogade, we perceived a great number of armed men, through the midst of whom we were obliged to pass. They were the Correjidor Arjona, and his police officers, who were just returning from making several domiciliary visits, not far from the place of my residence, where his active spies had intimated to him I was likely to be found. This occurrence rendered us more circumspect in our nocturnal sallies, although it was not always in our power to follow the precepts that prudence and circumstances dictated. An accident, which I ought to have despised, might have occasioned me more serious alarm, had its results been such as I had reason to anticipate.

Colonel T***, whom I had known at Cadiz in 1816, at the head of a patriotic association, was residing at Madrid at the period of my concealment. I learned that he, though with few connexions in the capital, and but little initiated in the secrets of my flight, was spreading the rumour that I had betrayed to the tribunal the names of all my friends, with various other absurdities, which were contradicted by the mere fact of his enjoying his liberty, and of having, moreover, obtained a royal permission to repair to Madrid. I begged Polo to endeavour to see him, and without disclosing to him the ties that united us, much less my being a resident at Madrid, induce him openly to declare his sentiments. These were such as to corroborate the disagreeable intelligence which I had previously received. Whilst I remained at Cadiz, he had manifested his esteem for me in such an unequivocal manner, that the inconsistency of his present conduct excited my indignation; and forgetting the rencontre with, and searches of, Arjona, as well as the dangers by which I was surrounded, I again requested Polo to arrange a meeting between the colonel and myself without the knowledge of my friends, which he did without opposition, much to my surprise; as there exists a material difference between the man who acts from the first impulse of injured feelings, and the calm spectator who only weighs the consequences. But the fact was, that colonel T*** removed all doubt

by retracting all he had said, turning black into white, and reducing the question to—nothing; and as Polo was well aware that such would be the result from what he had observed in him since he appointed the meeting, he threw no impediment in the way.

Meantime Nuñez, who had resolved to employ the same means against those who sought me as were used by them, did not visit me so frequently as he had at first done. With the object of following up his plan, he associated himself with an old friend of his, as enterprising, bold and intelligent as himself, whom he intrusted with the execution of such parts of his project as the various duties he imposed upon himself prevented him from attending to. Circumstances were favourable to their designs. The Marquis of Mataflorida (a man sufficiently notorious), familiar of the Holy Office, and fanatical respecting every thing relating to the Inquisition, had with his usual officiousness organized of his own accord a set of spies, whom he paid out of his own purse, and among whom figured with distinction an old Swiss officer; who, knowing the weak points in the character of the marquis, imposed upon his credulity, making him believe a thousand wonderful things. No one ventured to speak to the King respecting my recapture so positively as this famous coryphæus of absolute power.

The landlady of the house where he resided had two or three young daughters, with whom Nuñez had been acquainted for some years, and whom he was in the habit of visiting. Profiting of this intimacy, he requested them to watch, as much as lay in their power, the marquis and his associates, and listen to what was said in his apartment: and in order to interest them more in his favour, he confided to them only what was prudent they should know. The young girls, willing to oblige him, concerted among themselves a plan of espionage on the marquis. A thin wall separating their bed-room from his apartment, they made a hole in it, which on the marquis' side was concealed by a picture, and at which one of them stationed herself, with orders not to leave her post until she was relieved by one of her sisters; so that Mataflorida could not utter a word either alone or in company, that was not carefully noted down and repeated to Nuñez, who did not fail to draw his own conclusions from the intelligence he received.

One morning the Swiss officer entered the marquis' apartment, assuring his employer that he had discovered where the *lizard* was hid, naming the street where I resided. The purse of Mataflorida was emptied into the Swiss' hands; and Nuñez's faithful sentries suspecting from the extraordinary generosity of the marquis that there was something important in that communication, hastened in search of Nuñez, and informed him of what they had heard. Alarmed at this news, which was too well founded, he lost no time in warning us of it, and I immediately removed to a new asylum. The Swiss officer, however, was ignorant of the precise house: and

lost in conjectures respecting the cause of the uproar he had heard.*

"What have you remarked to-night in this prison?" inquired Berdeja, gravely.

"The absence of that silence which eternally reigns in this place," he answered.

"At what hour did you see the first jailer?" returned the inquisitor.

"I dont know, because here it is always night."

"But did you not hear any strange noises? Did you not hear the report of a pistol?"

He shrugged up his shoulders, and as if sharing in their astonishment, said nothing by which their curiosity might be gratified, and laughed at their loss and disappointment.

The inquisitor-general was sunk in a profound sleep when Berdeja, accompanied by Don Juanito, presented himself at his palace, and awoke him to impart to him the disagreeable intelligence of my escape. So great was the shock he received by it that his health, already impaired by age, was materially injured from this night.

On the day after my escape, I was visited and attended by several of my friends. The two brothers Pasate, both officers on half-pay, and who lived in a small retired house without a servant, were my chief cooks on that day; whilst Nuñez, who brought the provisions under his cloak, spread the cloth upon our sofa, and we sat down to our banquet. So strict and extensive was the espionage of the Inquisition, that it would have been the height of imprudence in us to have trusted to servants.

Meantime, Polo and Belda, who had ascertained enough respecting the masquerading party to quiet our apprehensions, proposed my returning to the apartments of the Biscayan woman, who again showed herself offended at my departure from her house, which she attributed to a want of confidence in her. The rest of my friends being of opinion that there was no risk in residing with her, I acceded to their wishes; and at night Patricio Dominguez and Manzanares came in provided with wearing apparel for me, when, after a distribution of my spoils among them to serve as a memorial of that day, we set out for my new abode. On our road Manzanares hinted that he wished to take me to the house of a friend who lived close by; and taking the lead, we all followed him. On arriving at the street of Foncarral, he knocked at the door of a small house, where we were received by Arco Agüero, who was waiting for us. This gallant chief, who frequented the first societies of the capital, was *au fait* of all the anecdotes of the court; and from him I learned

* In the year 1821, I met him in Madrid, and learned that the cause of his imprisonment was in no way connected with politics. A few months after my escape, he was sent to a monastery in Castile, to perform there certain penances which the Holy Office deemed necessary for the salvation of his soul. He gave me a long and amusing narrative of his adventures. Indeed, I have known few men more witty or satirical.

that my anxious mother, still ignorant of my escape, had presented herself on that day to the inquisitor Etenar, who was one of the least prejudiced against me, to plead for me, and interest him in my behalf, and that this respectable old man surprised her agreeably by saying, "That all his influence could not effect half so much as what I had done for myself; for that I had escaped from the prison sixteen hours ago." In this manner did the first intelligence of my flight reach my family.

On our arrival at the apartments of the Biscayan woman, I observed that the greatest silence prevailed in the upper part of the house, and I was informed by her, that she had taken the precaution of telling the tailor and his family that she expected a guest who was in bad health and of very retired habits, and who, as she had been given to understand, would pay well provided he found the place quiet. This hint, together with the independent manner in which people live at Madrid in lodging-houses, produced the desired effect; for during the whole time I remained there, no one ever troubled us, or showed the least curiosity.

My nurse seemed not at all a stranger to these kind of adventures. Belda, who was the only one of my friends who was intimately acquainted with her, related to me her history, of which the following is the substance.

Still very young and an orphan at the time of Napoleon's invasion, she was residing in her native village, when a party of French gens-d'armes entered it, and murdered in cold blood a young man of the place of whom she was passionately fond. Frantic at the loss she experienced by his death, and burning to avenge on the intruders the deep injury she had sustained, she devoted herself from that day to the defence of her country, rendering very important services to the chiefs of the guerillas, who were engaged in the warfare of that province, until she was taken by the French, and conducted to France, to a depôt of prisoners, where she suffered a thousand miseries and outrages from her jailers. Restored to her country at the general peace, the Spanish government granted her a mean pension, and the use of a medal, which she constantly wore, and by which she was distinguished wherever she went.*

We had agreed at Arco Agüero's that I should remain in Madrid until I had entirely recovered my health, attended by a surgeon of the name of Saumell, and that I should see in my asylum as few of my friends as possible. We also agreed to form a system of espionage against the inquisitors themselves, Nuñez de Arenas being the Fouché of our counterplot, whilst Belda and Polo offered to share with me my solitude, to which I gladly subscribed. It was the general opinion among our party that the report of my departure from Madrid should be widely spread, and with this object they

* The Cortes in 1820, in consideration of her services and sufferings, increased her pension to enable her to live with more comfort.

wrote to their friends in the provinces, desiring them to propagate the rumour. There was no great difficulty in doing this with all the speed required by circumstances; but we were ignorant then that the inquisitors possessed sufficient data to believe the contrary. It was now my turn to put the seal to this plan. I remembered that the senior inquisitor of Murcia, Castañeda, had desired me to write to him immediately after obtaining my liberty. He had now under his power several very dear friends of ours, with whom it was desirable he should follow the same gentlemanly conduct which he had observed towards me. I resolved, therefore, to write him a letter expressive of the sentiments of gratitude I felt towards him; a copy of which I here present to my reader.

"To Don Juan Castañeda, senior inquisitor of Murcia, &c.

"Respected Sir,

"In the alternative of losing my life or my honour, I resolved to free myself from the numberless acts of oppression which I endured with all possible humility in the sepulchral abode in which I had been immured. Having succeeded in forcibly obtaining my liberty, which during 131 days I vainly expected from the justice due to my innocence, and wishing to allay the fears of those who take an interest in my destiny, I take the earliest opportunity to fulfil the promise which I gave you of writing as soon as I should enjoy this inestimable good.

"I am aware that the motive which prompted you to make this request, when we parted at the gates of Murcia, was founded on very different hopes. You, doubtless, believed that when I offered to speak privately to the King, the truth and sincerity which I promised to use on that occasion would have had a different object in view. I can, however, assure you that I performed my promise in the full meaning I then attached to it. I spoke to his Majesty, and laid before his eyes truths which, perchance, he may one day appreciate to the full extent of their worth. I disclosed such facts as alone belonged to me. I did not overstep these limits; the sacred duties which I had imposed on myself did not allow me to betray secrets which would have involved others in my own calamities. Hence, neither splendid offers, nor flattery, nor the contrast of every kind of affliction which I have endured throughout so many bitter days and nights, nor even the gloomy perspective that was before my eyes—a death on a bed of torture—could induce me to deviate from the path which honour and principle pointed out to me. I should cheerfully have resigned my life to preserve what I value more. This, which in the eyes of ignorance and depravity may appear the result of blind obstinacy, will not be so considered by the virtuous and enlightened man, who knows how to weigh in the scale of reason the actions of his fellow-beings.

"I am now a wanderer in a foreign land; but I do not fly like a

seditious rebel, seeking a haunt where to hatch new conspiracies. No, I never was one. I go only to seek the company of a few honourable men, with whom I may spend a peaceable existence during my painful exile. Should I one day be able to enjoy the same benefits in my unhappy country, I will gladly return to its bosom to comfort my beloved parents in their old age, and manifest my gratitude to you for the generous conduct you observed towards me.

"I have been subjected to many indignities, violences, and secret torments. Nothing seems to have been omitted to trample me down, and destroy me; but the consciousness of my innocence rendered me superior to all: crime alone would have sunk under them; and although, as a man, I am not free from faults, my heart always revolted against depravity. You know little of me; but if you read the proceedings of my cause, you will see corroborated in them these truths, which offer sufficient matter for our consideration. I do not, however, aspire in this letter to a correspondence with you, neither do I wish that it should in any way compromise you with the government. My only object is to show that my heart is not known to the authors of my misfortunes; and that it is and always will be grateful to you, from whom I now take my perhaps last farewell.

"I remain, &c. &c."

This letter was dated from Bordeaux, February 20th, 1818, and was forwarded by Polo to a friend of his, who was then residing in that city, to be put in the post-office. Castañeda received it in due time, and believing it to have been written in the place from which it was dated, he immediately forwarded it to his friends in the capital.

The inquisitors informed the King of my escape on the morning after it took place, as well as of the circumstances attending it. I have learned from a person who was then present, that Ferdinand, on hearing it, burst into a loud laugh. Ramirez de Arellano, who was in the daily habit of hearing mass at a church contiguous to the palace, received the news of my flight when he was just returning from it to his breakfast, and frantic with rage, hastened to put in motion all the elements of the Camarilla. In accordance with the anxious wishes of the Bishop Mier, he prevailed on the whole ministry to lend their assistance in endeavouring to discover my retreat. Immediately orders were issued to every inquisition in the kingdom, and to all the captains-general of the provinces, to keep a strict look out for me, whilst large rewards were offered for my discovery.

Arjona, who was a creature of the Camarilla, and one of its most active agents, held at this period the office of corregidor* of Madrid. His spies spread themselves like overflowing waters throughout every corner of the capital; but such is the spirit of our age, that a brother of this same Arjona, a canon of the cathedral of Cordova,

* A sort of police magistrate

at that time living at Madrid in the house of his brother, was one of the initiated in my flight; and whilst the authorities were redoubling their vigilance in my pursuit, this good ecclesiastic made every effort to shelter me from it. In one of the many conversations which his brother held with him respecting my escape, he said in a tone of exasperation: "Our hair will turn gray in this search after Van Halen; but dearly shall he rue it, if ever we secure him!"

The surgeon Saumell, under whose care I now was, offered a coincidence no less singular than the above. He was a companion of Dr. Gil, and likewise a surgeon in the body guards.

Nuñez had now organized his counter inquisition, in which friendship did for us what neither gold nor the corrupting influence of my persecutors could accomplish for them. Secure from their pursuit, I passed my days in my humble abode far more tranquilly than the plotters of my ruin in the vain ostentation of their saloons. From the first day Polo became my constant companion, and shared cheerfully with me my retirement; but as circumstances imperiously required that the place of my residence should be known but to a few, I was alternately visited only by Belda, Nuñez de Arenas, Zorraquin, Arco Agüero, Infantes, and Manzanares. It was, however, agreed that I should occasionally go out at night, when the light of the moon should not betray me, that I might have the pleasure of embracing many who were entitled to my deepest gratitude.

As we had not yet been able to ascertain how far we might trust ourselves in private houses without incurring any risk of discovery, we fixed upon the Prado* as the most suitable place for our meetings. Polo arranged the interviews, at which only those attended whom he or Belda had previously warned. In these meetings friendship presented itself in its most glowing colours, and the anecdotes of that period are very numerous.

The first time I went out with Polo, which happened a few days after my escape, unable to resist the desire of passing before my father's house, which was within a short walk of the place of my residence, we proceeded thither, and I saw my sisters sitting with my mother near the balcony, all of them quietly engaged in their needlework; whilst some men, stationed at various distances opposite to the windows, were watching their movements. This Polo and myself perceived only when we were close to them; but as we were enveloped in our cloaks, we were fortunate enough to pass by without any bad consequences resulting from this slight caprice of mine, which, however, I was too cautious to repeat. From this circumstance we inferred that my enemies believed I had been imprudent enough to conceal myself in my father's house.

My cousin was the first of my friends who was appointed to meet me. Polo entered his apartment to warn him of our meeting at the

* A public promenade which embellishes the capital.

very moment when my father was sitting with him, expressing his fears of my being retaken. Murfy, having heard Polo's communication, introduced him to my father as a friend of mine, assuring him that he knew for certain I was already out of the kingdom. This allowable fiction had the effect of allaying my father's apprehensions.

Although before my imprisonment I kept up a correspondence with my cousin, and was now more closely united to him by new ties of gratitude, we had not seen each other for many years. Murfy had only returned to Spain about a year previous to this period from the South American seas, where I had met him in the first stage of my naval career, so that Polo introduced him to me when we met on the Prado. Ramona's messages were our first topic of conversation in this agreeable interview. My cousin related to me the cautious manner in which she had delivered them; the readiness and perspicuity with which she had answered all his questions; the prudence she had displayed in arranging her plan of communication; and lastly, the extraordinary disinterestedness she had evinced, refusing money or any kind of present. We did not then know what had become of her, nor was it possible for us even to imagine, an impenetrable wall concealing from our view the secret manœuvres of the inquisitors. Murfy, who knew the time when she usually went out, had often, after my escape, gone to the place where he was in the habit of meeting her, with the object of ascertaining what had since taken place in the Inquisition, but he always returned without seeing any thing of her; a circumstance from which we inferred that the rigours of the Holy Office had now reached her. It was, however, our firm opinion that a woman, who had done so much out of pure humanity, would, even in the midst of sufferings, know how to support the work she had herself raised. by showing as much firmness and courage as she had evinced generosity. One day that my cousin endeavoured to discover whether the tyranny of the inquisitors could intimidate her, she answered him in her usual laconic manner: "From a child I was brought up among those men. The Inquisition does not inspire me with fear; it is rather the prisoner who inspires me with compassion." Another day that he showed his surprise at the inquisitors permitting a female to reside among them, or at all relying upon her, she retorted, "If every woman had learned discretion in the same school as myself, we should hear less of our incapacity to keep a secret from those who are far weaker than ourselves." Lastly, my cousin imagining that she was actuated by love, the deep interest she manifested for my welfare justifying this belief, allowed himself a few jokes on gallant intrigues. Ramona, without stooping to prove the contrary by the thousand cogent reasons with which she might have convinced him, reddened, and casting on him a look of contempt, as she withdrew, said: "Do not give me such a wretched idea of yourself. Must our sex be necessarily frail, if we show an

interest for a man whose life is in danger?" I have deemed it proper to relate these anecdotes, which characterize one of the extraordinary women who are frequently met with among the Spanish females.

Murfy, like many individuals found in Spain in calamitous epochs, who, though possessing enlightened minds, and feeling the necessity of a political regeneration, are nevertheless inactive spectators of the struggle, was as ignorant of the real character of the Inquisition, when first Ramona came to wake him from his trance, as of the existence of any secret societies in Spain; when my communications led him to make the acquaintance of Nuñez, Polo, and others, who were actively employed in bringing about the desired change in the government. On his return from the New World, where he had spent the best part of his youth, he passed through France on his way to Spain, and made a short residence at Paris. Here some wags, taking advantage of his natural simplicity of character, introduced him into a lodge of freemasons, where he was made to undergo a multitude of ridiculous ceremonies. Disgusted with the fraternity and their absurdities, and imagining he would find every where the same eagerness in its members to obtain contributions, and riot in expensive banquets, he renounced, a few days after being initiated in the mysteries of freemasonry, its pantomimic duties; looking with utter contempt upon that which, if differently managed, would have appeared to him equally sacred and binding, but which could not be otherwise in a country where the subtlety of the government has done the utmost to destroy with what is *ridiculous* that which could not be obtained by *rigour;* the former being of itself sufficient to dissipate the illusion, while the latter excites curiosity by the very alarm it causes. The contempt, however, which my cousin entertained for the fraternity was so deeply rooted, that if, instead of the visit of my prudent messenger, he had received that of any of our friends, there is no doubt that, had he been accosted with the usual masonic signs, he would have considered him in the light of a punchinello, and have ordered him out of his house, while I should have continued pining in my dungeon.

My two young brothers, though not having the same cause of dislike as my cousin, shared his opinions on freemasonry. They were in habits of intimacy with Murfy, at whose house they frequently met Polo; but as they were ignorant of the various circumstances by which I had effected my liberty, they did not even suspect that the guest with whom they frequently dined at their cousin's, was one of the principal characters in that drama. As it was thought prudent not to inform them of any thing respecting me, they, like my father, were made to believe that I was already far from my native land.

The first essay of our nocturnal meetings having been accom-

prehended, arising from the patroles of cuirassiers, who at night ranged outside the walls of the capital, and from the unforeseen accidents that I might meet with during my ride to Alcala de Henares, which is five leagues distant from Madrid. Thus, the good or bad success of the first steps of my flight depended entirely on chance. I was, however, prepared for the worst, and had accordingly formed a plan, which though fatal to me in its results, was the only one of which circumstances would admit.

Eight was just striking when we arrived at the gates of Alcala. By a most fortunate accident the guards were occupied in examining a carriage that was leaving Madrid; and being more intent on the munificence of the travellers than in the performance of their duties, we passed by without at all attracting their attention; when at about a hundred paces from the gates, we met my brothers. As the fear of exciting suspicion had prevented them from bringing a third horse, as it was their wish, one of them was obliged to alight, that I might proceed on my journey. Under the pretext of intrusting him with a message, I succeeded in making him desist from his intention of following us on foot. Belda, who was in the secret, returned with him; whilst my other brother and myself clapped spurs to our horses, and we lost sight of a city for ever memorable to me.

By one of those singular coincidences which are met with only in the great book of destiny, on the very night that I was flying from the capital to shun the horrors of the Inquisition, the body of the inquisitor-general Mier, who had died on that morning, was lying in state in one of the saloons of the palace, where he had issued the sanguinary decrees against me, and where he had treated with contempt the humane and religious reflections of the upright Canon Riesco. He was now in the awful presence of his God, rendering an account of his actions!

CHAPTER XVII.

The author safely passes a squadron of cuirassiers—He sups with Don Facundo Infantes and Zorraquin at Alcala—Dangerous adventure at a seat of the Duke del Infantado's—Comfortable lodging at Torremocho—Quarrel between the villagers and some foot-soldiers—Mountain of Moncayo—Town of Safra—Treacherous innkeeper—Police officers—Successful passage of the river Ebro—Dragoons—Entertainment in the town of Olite—*Persiflage* by a pretended diplomatist—The author avoids Pampeluna—Advice received from the landlord of an inn near the Pyrenees—Stratagem—Village of Berrueta—Elizondo—Extreme peril in passing the barrier of the Pyrenees—The author and companion pass the frontier, and enter France.

THE detachment of cuirassiers on the road of Alcala had left the capital towards the close of the day, and my brother, who had observed it, believed that they must be at some distance from us, when just as we arrived at an elevated spot on the road, which overlooks the inn called *Del Espiritu Santo*, we distinguished the glittering of their cuirasses. My brother, who purposely rode in uniform, and myself enveloped in my cloak, on seeing them within that short distance, did not think it prudent to call their attention by turning out of the road, which offered neither wood or any other place of concealment; we, therefore, proceeded towards them, resolved to face the danger. Before arriving at the inn there is a turnpike, and beyond it a bridge. Having passed the former, we perceived that the troop had halted at the inn, where they were taking some refreshment. My brother went towards them with the object of preventing all suspicion, and I followed him. The cuirassiers, seeing an officer, paid no attention to his companion, and we passed the bridge unmolested; after which we set off at full gallop, meeting no other obstacle, or even a traveller on our way. Four hours after, we saw the towers of Alcala, which is situated in the midst of a plain. As the school of engineers was established in this city, Don Facundo Infantes, who held a high situation in it, residing there, we had appointed his house as the place of meeting. This gentleman, accompanied by the friend whom Polo had taken with him to bring my horse to Alcala, was waiting for me outside the gates, and on our approach came forward. Having alighted, I gave the horse to Polo's companion, and a parting embrace to my brother, who with his new comrade turned his horse's head towards Madrid, whilst I followed Infantes into the town, and reached his house without meeting with the least obstacle.

Here I found Polo and Zorraquin, with whom we sat down to supper, till hearing the clock strike two, we prepared for our departure, having first consulted the map, the itinerary, and the notes we had been furnished with respecting some parts of the road,

without forgetting to assume the dress corresponding to my supposed commission, as well as Polo, who was to pass for my secretary. Manzanares accompanied us on foot as far as the outskirts of the town, where, having taken leave of him, we quickened our pace, to quit before daylight the high road leading to Guadalaxara; our intention being to avoid, as much as possible, passing through the cities that lay in our way.

The splendour of the rising sun seemed to presage the success of our flight, and we travelled on, cheered by one of those delightful May mornings, when nature sheds its rays of beauty over every living object. Wishing to proceed as far from the capital as the strength of our horses would allow, we rode on without halting, until an incident, which might have proved very serious, obliged us to change our direction. Passing about noon near a country-house, and wanting some refreshment, we advanced towards it, without at first remembering to whom it belonged. Overpowered by the heat of a burning sun, I had thrown open my cloak; when on arriving at a great court-yard belonging to the house, we were met by several large dogs, whose clamorous barking attracted the notice of the servants, who came out accompanied by a man whose countenance was very familiar to me. Wishing to prevent his recognising me, I feigned to be afraid of the dogs, and rode out of the court-yard, followed by Polo, who immediately understood me; thus avoiding worse consequences than could result from the bites of the dogs. The fact is that we were on one of the estates of the Duke del Infantado, and that the man we observed among the servants was the duke's major-domo of that estate, who had formerly been steward in a family residing at Madrid, with whom I was in habits of the greatest intimacy. This was the reason why we thought it prudent to change the direction of our road.

Towards evening we arrived at a small village where colonels might very well have sojourned, but certainly, never diplomatic agents. The curate, of whom we soon heard good accounts, being absent, we went to the house of his father, who, never having learned to read, was perfectly satisfied with the coat of arms on my passport, the gold embroidery of my coat, and the timely lamentations of my secretary for our accidental separation from our servants. Our honest Castilian host hastened to remedy this loss by intrusting the care of our horses to his servants. He then insisted on our taking the privileged seats near the fire, whilst he himself set about preparing the chocolate for us, and his good old wife our beds. Polo, who was more familiar with these scenes than myself, and more conversant with the manners of these people, knew how to turn every thing to account. He began a conversation on politics with our host, principally touching on rents and taxes, which soon made the good farmer speak his opinions freely. He lamented

the petty tyranny of men in office, the unjust privileges of the *hidalgos*, the innumerable barriers which opposed themselves to the industry of the husbandman, and lastly spoke of the monarch with all the candour of rusticity, showing that the disorders of the throne are felt even in the cabin of the peasant, when the appeals of the people are not only disregarded, but punished.

Conducted by our host and hostess to the apartment where our beds were prepared, we soon forgot the adventures and fatigues of that day. The old man was punctual in calling us at the hour we had appointed. We saluted him in the kitchen at day-break, and then went to look at our horses, which we found already saddled, and the servant waiting our orders. Our host insisting on guiding us through the path that led to the road we were to follow, we took our horses by the bridle, and walked on, admiring the beautiful valleys that extend as far as the chain of the Somosierra mountains, to which the old man pointed with pride as the picturesque theatre where he had spent many a spring, and which had witnessed the bleaching of the venerable locks that fell about his shoulders. At parting, he shook us heartily by the hand, showing us the high road, and made us promise to visit him should we ever travel that road; a civility as sincerely meant as it was kindly proffered.

After some hours' travelling on the high road, we arrived at the little village called Torremocho, and soon after reached the inn a short distance beyond it, the loneliness of which seemed to invite us to refresh our horses, and repose ourselves awhile, but in which we were not free from alarms. Whilst Polo and myself were amusing ourselves with listening to the clamorous orders of the inn-keeper's wife, who was getting our dinner ready, which, notwithstanding her boisterous importance, consisted but of some fried eggs and a sallad, the cries and shouts of the children, of which there is always an abundant crop in the huts of the poor, announced the approach of a troop of soldiers. Remembering the meeting I had on the night I left Madrid, we hastened to the door, where we met with a sergeant and twelve foot-soldiers, who, on seeing my uniform, saluted me respectfully, causing our momentary fears to vanish. I inquired of them the object of their excursion, and learned they were in pursuit of highwaymen, who were not wanting in that part of the country. As it frequently happens in times of public misery that a father of a family has no other resource than to turn robber, the people of Torremocho, who were in this situation, as most probably was also the case with those of the inn, looked upon an armed force as they might upon an army of invaders. With respect to our present guests, they held out their scanty purse to procure some refreshments, but no attention was paid to them: they asked water, and they gave them what had been left by our horses; the hostess had nothing for those veterans, and as it is not in the character of Castilians to dissemble if they feel wounded, the countenances began

on all sides to assume a cloudy aspect, threatening a conflict, always violent in a country where the passions of the people, when once roused, know no limits. Under these circumstances, it was impossible for Polo and myself not to have a fellow-feeling for these poor soldiers, who, notwithstanding the privations they endured, showed the utmost prudence, discipline, and forbearance. We therefore condoled with them, and gave them the little assistance that lay in our power; but foreseeing that a general affray would soon take place between the two parties, we judged it wise to leave them to fight their own battles, as otherwise, in the event of the soldiers being supported by their chief, it is very probable that the only persons apprehended would be ourselves. We, however, advised them to keep their tempers, and avoid any rupture; an advice, which, in a similar situation, we ourselves should have found very difficult to follow, and mounting our horses we set off at a brisk pace.

We traversed the country of Tadraque, having a few leagues to the right of our road the city of Siguenza, which we wished to leave far behind us before night-fall. The spirit of our horses seconded our intentions, and towards sun-set we saw, at some distance from the road, Sauquillo, a very small village, which we fixed upon as the termination of that day's journey. We learned from the young men of the neighbourhood that there were no soldiers stationed in it, and that it was now some time since they had seen any. On arriving, we found the members of the town-house assembled in the blacksmith's shop, which was the principal place of resort in the village; and by our presence we interrupted the measured sounds of his hammer with which he was regaling the assembly. We asked quarters for the night, and the alcaide, more attentive to my person than to my passport, which he did not even attempt to spell, pointed out to us from where he stood a house, which certainly appeared the best in the village. As our servants had not yet joined us, the people of the house where we were quartered easily procured us a young man to take care of our horses.

Neither the host nor hostess was so communicative as those who had sheltered us on the previous night. We therefore remained with them no longer than was absolutely necessary, and we rose, desiring our temporary groom to have the horses ready by day-break, and call us if we were yet asleep; but the hostess, who heard our order, hastened to remind us that the following day was a festival, and that her confessor said mass at a very convenient hour for any traveller. We thought it prudent to thank her for her well-meant warning, and agreed to prolong our sleep until the church-bell should call us up.

I think it would be impossible to find in any other house in Castile, or even throughout Spain, such a numerous collection of cats as we found here. This we perceived only when we got into bed, otherwise we might have dispensed with charging the servant to

awake us, as, owing to the noise made by those animals, we could not close our eyes during the whole night. The mewing, the racing, the fighting among them was such as to be almost alarming, and only to be matched by the diversified snorings, deep and loud, which issued from the adjoining dormitories; so that long before the church-bell called the faithful to mass, we were on our legs. In giving the good morning to our hostess, I could not help speaking of the wretched night we had spent, showing my surprise at her keeping such an immense number of cats, when there were so many beggars in the village who I thought ought to have the preference. "Mr. Colonel," answered the hostess, as she buttoned the spatterdashes of her unwieldy husband, "what can we do? When we married, we had only two; they have increased with our years, and we have given some of them to our neighbours. God provides for them; shall we then throw them into the ditch? The tricks of the little ones are our amusement, and I assure you that when a person is accustomed to their mewings, he is not disturbed by them." She then entered into the peculiar merits of her principal favourites, interrupting her panegyric only at the door of the church.

The priest, on seeing us enter, sent the sacristan to conduct us to the seats of the members of the town-house, which were near the altar, and then commenced the service, our ears being suddenly assailed by the screams of old men, youths, and children, who crowded the choir of the church, and who gave a faithful representation of the musical entertainment we had heard during the night. The mass over, Polo and myself thought it our duty to repay the attention of the priest by inviting him to take his chocolate with us. The hostess was delighted at this mark of respect in us, and busied herself in preparing it; after which we took leave of them, and mounting our horses, endeavoured to gain the time we had thus lost.

We travelled during the whole day without taking any repose, and after sunset put up for the night at a small village called Moncayo, situated at the side of the mountain of the same name, which rises like a watch-tower over the two kingdoms of Arragon and Castile, which it separates, its elevated peak forming a most picturesque object. Wishing to avoid the inns as much as possible, for fear of some disagreeable encounter, Polo proceeded to the billiard-room, where we learned the alcaide was to be found, and from him he easily obtained quarters for the night, which we spent without having our repose disturbed but by the care of our horses, which, owing to the exposed situation of the stables, we were under the necessity of watching.

Before day-light we were already on horseback, and proceeded through the high road towards the Ebro; the numberless obstacles which the mountainous nature of the country offered, preventing our leaving it without exposing ourselves to lose our way. Among

the few larger towns we were obliged to pass through was that of Safra, which, by all accounts, we had reason to look upon with suspicion, and which was marked in our itinerary for that day's journey. Fortunately as we drew near it, the rain fell in such violent showers, that we traversed the town without seeing other objects worth remarking than the arms of the Inquisition, which were cut in stone over the doors of some houses, the owners of which, looking through the windows, did not seem much inclined to gratify their curiosity at the expense of getting wet through.

Having left Safra about a league in our rear, we saw an inn a little removed from the high road, where we took shelter from the incessant rain, and established our quarters for the night, being already wet to the skin. We intrusted the care of our horses to the ostler, and took possession of the two beds offered us by the innkeeper. The music of Sauquillo, and the care of our horses at Moncayo, which had hindered me from taking any repose for the last two nights, with the soaking rain of that day, renewed my former pains in the arm, and prevented our departure on the following day. The kind attentions of my companion greatly contributed to hasten my recovery, and gave us the hope of shortly continuing our journey. The innkeeper, who was a great gossip, and consequently no less curious of other people's affairs, questioned us about our journey, and about the accident that had separated us from our servants, relating to us in his turn the various adventures that had occurred at his inn, among which was the flight of General Renovales,* who, disguised as a monk, had passed the night in his inn: a circumstance which was not discovered by him for some time after, and which he lamented, as having thereby lost the high reward offered for his apprehension. This despicable man, who, had he suspected my real character, would not have hesitated an instant in betraying me, informed us that the police officers, who belonged to the party stationed along the Ebro, were in the daily habit of visiting the inn, and that though probably the rains had kept them in Safra, they would not be long before they arrived. This information we received when it was too late for us to think of departing; but not wishing to remain there longer than was absolutely necessary, we told him of our determination to set off at day-break, paying him before hand the unreasonable bill which he presented to us, for the thirty-six hours we had remained in his house.

We were on the point of leaving our room to proceed on our journey, when, from the window that looked into the road, we distinguished six armed men coming towards the inn. On their knocking with their muskets, the door was immediately opened, and the first object which presented itself to their sight, was the ostler waiting for us under the gateway with our horses already saddled.

* He was implicated in a conspiracy which obliged him to fly from Spain.

Anxious to ascertain who these men were, we listened attentively to the questions they put to him, by which we soon discovered them to be the police officers mentioned by the inn-keeper. Polo immediately went down to speak to them, and managed things so well, that the curiosity they had at first manifested was converted into respect. They drank a glass of brandy to the health of the travellers, and without waiting to see the innkeeper, who was still fast asleep, hastened out of the inn, from which we also rode off as soon as we thought they were at some distance from it.

Among the questions my secretary had asked the police officers, was, whether they had seen any thing of our servants, complaining of the precious time we had lost in waiting for them at the inn, and of the want of our liquor-case, which prevented him from offering them a glass, but which he supplied with some he purchased at the inn, that they might drink to the health of "Colonel Don Manuel Suelto." As we proceeded along the high road, laughing at the easy credulity of those who were even then in pursuit of me, and forming castles in the air, believing we had already overcome not only the dangers that the line of the Ebro presented, but all those we had besides reason to fear, we saw at a distance the custom-house, and within sight of it, the barge, which had hitherto so much occupied our thoughts. On our approaching nearer, all the guards and officers of the customs came out to meet us, when I showed from under my cloak, as if by chance, the sleeve of my coat, on the cuff of which were the colonel's insignia,* whilst my secretary begged them to desire our servants, whom we were hourly expecting, to hasten forward to join us. The men listened respectfully, and assured us they would not fail to obey our commands, and without farther inconvenience, we proceeded towards the barge, thus overcoming one of the principal dangers of our journey.

The wretched condition of the interior commerce, which under a better government might be so extensive in this part of the kingdom, kept the boatman in a state of complete inactivity. The poor fellow received us and our horses as a god-send, lamenting the great scarcity of passengers of any kind, and performing his work with the utmost diligence, for which we rewarded him handsomely, though not according to the real service we felt he had rendered us. But though we were now leaving the Ebro behind, we had still to cross the kingdom of Navarre, where we had other dangers to encounter, from which we feared that our past successes might be of little avail.

It was still early in the morning, when just before entering the first village on our road, we met two dragoons, who were going to join a detachment that had been sent there. The soldiers, who

* In Spain, as in Austria, the superior officers are distinguished by the gold or silver stripes worn on the cuffs of the coat.

every where prefer a wandering life to the regular duties they are subject to with the main body, learning from Polo, who stopped to converse with them, that I was intrusted with an important commission, begged him to use his influence with me to obtain their officer's permission for them to be our escort. My secretary, having ascertained that their officer did not know me, and elated by the success of our passage over the Ebro, conceived the singular idea of acceding to their request, and communicated to me his intention of showing the officer our passport; and should he obtain the soldiers, on our arrival to the frontiers of France, he would send them to the minister of war Eguia, with a despatch in which our safe arrival in a kingdom to which his power did not extend, should be duly announced. Tutored by experience, my fears were more easily roused than his, and I did not approve of his fanciful scheme, at which nevertheless it was impossible not to laugh. We, therefore, left the village and the dragoons, and proceeding onward, we reached towards noon a village called Centrenigo, where we stopped to take some repose at the only inn in the place, which was as little frequented as the barge and the road.

The city of Olite, so celebrated in the annals of Navarre, was towards the end of our day's journey; but as we had no friends there, we determined to pass the night at some village beyond it. Before reaching it, however, it grew so dark that Polo, deeming it wiser to sojourn at Olite, proceeded with the passport to the municipality, in order to obtain quarters for the night, in which he easily succeeded. By the arms sculptured over the door of the house to which we were sent, we judged that our host belonged to the nobility of Olite, a fact which we soon ascertained. On the lady of the house being informed who we were, and of our having arrived without our attendants, she immediately sent one of her own to take care of our horses, and caused every thing we stood in want of to be brought to us, giving besides to the other servants orders which presaged more attention than we wished for. Whilst I was making my toilet to go and present my respects to our hostess, Polo called my attention to a murmur of voices that was heard in one of the adjoining rooms; but though we listened attentively, we could not form a correct idea of the cause of it, until having finished dressing, and proceeded towards the apartment of the hostess, we found on arriving at the door that the whole family were at evening prayers. Unwilling to disturb them, we were on the point of turning back, when the lady of the house hearing our steps, came out to meet us, and invited us to enter, politely regretting that her husband was not at home to assist her in doing the honours of the house. She then introduced us to a cousin of hers, a gentleman of very rustic appearance, to an assemblage of old women, to a Capuchin friar, and to a priest. Having examined this museum of living rarities, I cast a look at Polo, who, immediately understanding its meaning, received

with the utmost resignation, as well as myself, the polite invitation of our hostess to spend the evening and take supper with them. We were then requested to take our seats, Polo having for his neighbour the priest, who from the first moment we entered, displayed the hateful badge of the Holy Office, in which he filled the post of familiar. He spoke of the court, of the benevolent disposition of the King, and of the happiness of the people, whilst we in our turn extolled the importance of diplomacy, the skill and subtlety of the Spanish cabinet, which kept such a marked preponderance over all others, and spoke of the general pacification of the Americas as a thing almost settled. Leaving to my secretary the entire care of pursuing this kind of conversation, the absurdity of which would have been apparent to any one except to our worthy familiar, for whom Sweden and Switzerland* were all one, I endeavoured to reply to the numberless questions of the hostess, the Capuchin, and the old women, who, though engaged in a game at cards, did not allow me a moment's respite.

At length supper being announced, the conversation was interrupted, and we proceeded to the supper-room, where I took my seat beside the hostess, Polo being still more favoured than in the drawing-room, having the priest on one side, and the Capuchin on the other. His good humour, however, was unruffled, and he kept up the joviality of the company by his pertinent jokes. The suppers in Navarre are by no means frugal, and, doubtless, our hostess wished to impress us with a favourable idea of her affluence. On the other hand her affability spared me the trouble of entering the metaphysical labyrinth in which my friend had got entangled with his two neighbours, until, fortunately, the yawning of the priest, the nodding of the Capuchin, and the drowsy winking of the old women, made us withdraw.

As it is not likely we should go quietly to bed while any one connected with the Inquisition was in the house, we first made sure that he had retired to his apartment. Our next care was to see that our horses were well attended, and having ascertained this, we desired the groom to have them ready saddled at break of day. When Polo and myself returned to our apartment, being unable to close our eyes during the whole night, we passed it in commenting on the absurd conversation we had held with the familiar and his friend the Capuchin, until the hour for our departure approaching, we rose, and mounting our horses, bid adieu to Olite and its hospitable inhabitants.

The city of Pamplona was in our line of march; but it was necessary we should avoid entering it, for being the seat of the provincial government, the police were more on the watch, and I

* In Spanish the names of the above countries are in their pronunciation so similar, (*Suecia* and *Suiza*), that the mistake of the familiar, in whom much geographical knowledge could not be expected, is frequently committed by those of his cloth.

was personally known to various individuals in office, among whom was the viceroy. In coming near, we rode across the fields that are in sight of it, and towards noon we stopped a short time at an inn about three leagues beyond it. In our note book we were recommended to sojourn that night at an inn, which was removed only one day's march from the desired term of our perilous journey. We were, besides, instructed to follow the advice of the innkeeper, (who by the time of our arrival would be in some measure in the secret of my flight) respecting the best way of crossing the Pyrenees.

On our arrival at the inn, we found the host sitting by the kitchen fire, and surrounded by several old men of the village. We asked lodging for the night, and Polo contrived so that shortly after we had the innkeeper alone with us in our apartment. Having given him the watchword by which he was to recognise us, and received his answer, we showed him the passport, explained its object, and asked his opinion and assistance to pass the frontiers. To this he said that we might, even on the following day, undertake the crossing the Pyrenees under the guidance of some smugglers, who would open a path for us through the snow. We agreed to consider of it. Whilst Polo and myself were occupied in discussing the matter, our host re-entered, showing some alarm, and informed us that our sudden arrival had excited the suspicions of the old men who were in the kitchen, among whom was the notary. Polo immediately proceeded to the kitchen, where, drawing out his pocket-book, he began to look over some of the papers it contained, and in putting them up, dropped, as if by chance, our passport, and directly left the kitchen. The host who entered soon after Polo, and was in our scheme, taking up the passport, delivered it to the notary that he might read it aloud, when both their suspicions and our alarm ceased.

When the host came to return us the passport, having already considered the proposal he had made us, we told him that we did not think it prudent to intrust our safety to men who could not answer for their own, at the same time recommending him to observe the utmost circumspection in speaking of us to any one. He offered to procure a guide; but as he could not do this as soon as it was indispensable for us to depart, we were obliged to content ourselves with the information he gave us respecting the state of the custom-houses, which we could not avoid passing before we reached the French soil, and resolved to trust to chance, confiding in our experience, resolution, and good horses.

Early on the following day we bid farewell to our worthy host, and travelled towards the frontiers, cheered by one of the finest days in May, which, under the pure sky of Navarre, seemed doubly beautiful and inspiring. Between ten and eleven we reached Berrueta, a small village, which was half-way of our day's journey.

As it was the festival of the Corpus Christi, most of the inhabitants were, at the time of our arrival, engaged in the religious procession which is performed in every town and village of Spain. It is customary in this part of the country to celebrate this day with a public dinner, in which the want of splendour is frequently supplied with mirth and joviality, and in which all family feuds and personal animosities are reconciled. The host and hostess were so much occupied with the preparations for the feast, that we found it more difficult to get any one to accept our payment, than to procure the refreshments.

We left Berrueta, wishing that the example of general reconciliation offered by its inhabitants on this day, might be imitated throughout the peninsula, and particularly by the ruling faction. We had now before our eyes the picturesque summits of the Pyrenees, and the delightful valleys that here and there diversify the scenery along their basis; but though the sublimity of these objects was irresistible, and capable of absorbing the whole attention, yet I must own that our minds were more engaged with the approaching dangers to be apprehended from the guards and custom-house officers, than in contemplating the beauties of the surrounding scenery.

At three in the afternoon we passed through Elizondo, which consists of one long street along the high road, and in which a party of guards is always stationed. As we traversed it at a trot, I took care that my insignias should not be concealed; but we were fortunate enough not to be observed by the guards, until we had left the village, and then apparently without exciting their suspicions. There now remained only the party stationed on the frontiers, whose house we saw after two hours' travelling over a very mountainous country. As we came nearer the spot, one of the many guards, who were on the look-out, hastened towards us, and demanded the passport. I delivered it, and we followed him, leading our horses as near as possible to the barrier, which, however, was occupied, as if intentionally, by several men.

We were kept in the utmost suspense for fifteen long minutes, during which other officers placed themselves near our horses' heads, looking suspiciously at us. Polo, under the pretext of lighting his cigar, began a conversation with one of them; but it led to nothing, the fellow answering only in monosyllables.

Meantime we were repeatedly invited to alight, and go into the house; but we declined this invitation, in which there was more duplicity than politeness, particularly as we could see the prying eyes of a man at the window intently bent upon me. Thus watched and surrounded, we were obliged to betray no signs of alarm; indeed, it seemed as if our very breathing was observed. At length the chief officer came out, and apologizing for the delay that we had experienced, said to me, pointing to a paper which he held in his hand, that my personal appearance and features so perfectly agreed

with those described in the warrant he held, that it required time to consider. Upon this a question arose of the most delicate nature, alleging on his part observations replete with justness and good sense, which I was obliged to parry with reasons founded on the mysteries of diplomacy. Passing to less important matters, he asked me whether I had seen the authorities in my way through Pamplona. I answered in the affirmative, and observed that his countenance brightened. "I have here," said he, showing me another paper, "an order from the Viceroy of Navarre, in which I am desired to credit no passport that is not countersigned by his lordship." I observed to him, that the exalted rank of him who had signed mine was, in my opinion, entitled to an exception. At these words he looked successively at Polo and at myself, and then withdrew, evincing some confusion, whilst we returned for ten minutes longer to the same dumb scene previously acted.

On his re-appearance, he politely returned the passport to me, ordered the gates of the barrier to be opened, and asking me a thousand pardons, took off his hat, and bid us farewell.

Having passed the barrier, we rode slowly till we came to an angle in the road, which screened us from the sight of the officers, when we clapped spurs to our horses, and once sure we were in the French territory, we both alighted, and manifested the joy we felt by a tight embrace of mutual congratulation.

I then cast a farewell look on the country of my birth, and throwing away the insignias of my assumed rank, put at once an end to the character of *Don Manuel Suelto*, which I had so successfully performed.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The author and Polo assume the character of wool-merchants—Excellence of their horses—Adventures in France—Arrival at Bayonne—Bordeaux—They embark for Dover—Custom-house officers—Elections—The alien office—City of London—Spanish emigrants—Polo returns by sea to Spain—Events at Madrid—Proceedings of the Inquisition of the court—Singular end of Don Juanito—the author resolves on leaving England.

We were now in France, transformed into wool-merchants, in which disguise we presented ourselves, with the passport our friends had procured for us, at the first custom-house we met, which was that of Ustariz. Our arms, the only articles we preserved belonging to our former characters, would here have appeared singular, were it not very customary to see the merchants arrive armed *cap-à-pie*, owing to the occasional rencontres to which travellers are

exposed in these parts, from persons who are similarly employed as the peasants of Torremocho.

If, on the Spanish side, I had engaged the whole attention of the guards, *our horses* fixed that of the French; especially the one I rode, which, by its southern origin and superior breed, increasing the formalities of entrance, prevented us from reaching our inn till very late at night. Elated with the success of our flight, and with the idea that we were no longer within the reach of the inquisitors, every thing by which we were surrounded seemed as if reflected by an enchanted mirror. It was, however, to be presumed that the French police would not be long in discovering my real name. Polo, who was known only by a few, had not so much to apprehend; but as our intention was to pass rapidly through France, visiting only such persons as we might safely confide in, and whom we had been recommended to see, we hoped to escape fresh vexations from the police.

The inn-keeper, with all the good humour of a Frenchman, kept us company during supper, and saw that our horses were well attended; after which we withdrew to our apartment, where we spent a night undisturbed even by dreams. It was late in the morning when we awoke; and having settled our account with the landlord, we left Ustariz, as we thought, in the direction of Bayonne; but we had not gone very far before the loud imprecations of a peasant, whose corn our wandering horses were treading down, attracting our attention, as well as that of a gentleman who was walking near the spot, and who hastened to calm the anger of the husbandman, made us halt and discover our mistake. The gentleman, in whom we recognised an officer of Napoleon, informed us that we had missed our road, and were on our way to the Spanish frontiers, and after many civilities on his part, and grateful thanks on ours, he showed us the road to Bayonne, from which we had wandered two leagues. Towards the close of the day we reached the suburbs of that city, where we took up our quarters at an inn.

Polo, who, though no longer my secretary, still acted as such, under the pretext of my being in bad health, transacted all business with the police and consulates concerning our passport. He also paid a visit to a member of the Cortes, who with his family resided at Bayonne, and with whom we spent the greatest part of the time we were obliged to remain there. As we determined to travel in the diligence, our horses could no longer be of any service to us; Polo, therefore, sold his to a Jew, who paid so poor a price for it, that rather than sacrifice mine in the same way, I gave it to our friend, who willingly took charge of it, as well as of our arms. We then left Bayonne in a diligence, which carried us to Bordeaux, where we made but a short stay, and afterwards proceeded to Paris, alighting at the Hotel de la Belgie, where some friends and countrymen of ours were living. As Polo had never been in this capi-

tal, our residence here was protracted longer than we intended, owing to his desire of seeing its principal objects of curiosity. Previous to our departure, he did not fail to visit the embassy and the police office, from which he brought back the passport filled with scrawls and *fleur-de-lis;* and again taking our seats in the diligence, we travelled to Calais, where we embarked on board a packet-boat for Dover, bidding adieu to the country of the *gens-d'armes.* The company on board appeared to us less mixed than that we had usually met with in the diligences. The weather was remarkably fine, and in a few hours we were safely landed at Dover.

Polo and myself, being ignorant of the strict formalities observed in the English custom-houses, had each brought a bottle of wine to pledge each other on our safe arrival in this land of refuge; when we no sooner leaped on shore, than we were assailed by two custom-house officers, who, seeing our swollen pockets, in which we carried the bottles for that pious purpose, would not allow us to move a step without first prying into them. Having gratified their curiosity in hopes of getting rid of them, we found we had only rendered them more eager to obtain possession of the bottles; and as neither of us could make himself understood, we thought it advisable to yield them their prey, after which we proceeded to our inn, having first seen our slender portmanteaus deposited in the custom-house.

It was towards the end of June (1818) when we arrived in England; at which time the whole country was actively engaged in the elections for the ensuing parliament. It would, perhaps, be difficult to meet with two travellers so struck with the novelty of the scene that offered itself to our view than ourselves. Cars filled with voters, candidates carried about in triumph, taverns deluged with beer, emblematic devices, flags of various colours, hats covered with ribands, bands of music parading the streets, and public orators haranguing the people,—such was the singular spectacle we met with at Dover, and in every town through which we passed, forming a striking contrast with the scenes of misery and oppression that were acting in our unfortunate country.

Having with some difficulty made our way through the crowded streets, we reached the alien office, where we were asked the usual questions respecting our passport, which had been previously deposited there by the captain of the packet. Polo gave his assumed name, as it was indispensable for his future safety; but as I had nothing more to fear, I frankly disclosed my real one. Our interrogator made no impertinent remarks on my transformation; but, on the contrary, doing justice to the sentiments which had prompted that candid avowal, he contented himself with my signature; and from this moment I resumed the name which I had inherited from my forefathers.

In the custom-house our portmanteaus underwent an examination

the officers, on seeing the specimens of wool which we brought from Spain, pulled it apart, doubtless expecting to find pearls among it; but having discovered their mistake, we received back our portmanteaus, though we lost sight altogether of the wine. We spent that night at Dover, and having charged the landlord to secure places for us in the first coach for London, it came punctually at the appointed hour, early on the following morning; but as we were accustomed to see the unwieldy diligences of France, with their rope traces, heavy-booted postilions, and loud-cursing *conducteurs*, when we saw at the door of our inn the elegant and commodious vehicle that came for us, believing that it was the carriage of some wealthy man, who had just arrived, we were amusing ourselves with looking at it, and admiring its beautiful horses, whilst the coachman, who was beside us, but whom we did not understand, was impatiently waiting for us.

We reached London on the afternoon of the same day, after having travelled through a country, the beauty and high cultivation of which, while it delighted us, called forth our admiration at every step. As we approached London, we were no less struck with the immense extent of ground which it occupies, spreading along the horizon farther than the eye could reach. Here we took up our abode at the humble inn where we alighted, near the Exchange.

Polo had now accomplished the generous object which he had had in view. I was safe in a land where the very name of the Inquisition is abhorred. It was not so with him: his immediate return to Spain would place him again within the reach of our enemies; and if his absence abroad in my company, the secret of which was known to more than one friend, were to transpire by the slightest imprudence of any of them, he would be a lost man.

On the day after our arrival, Polo acquainted two Spanish gentlemen, at that period emigrants in London, with this event, at the same time requesting them to procure for him, with all possible secrecy, a passage on board some vessel immediately going to Spain. This request was so diligently attended to by those gentlemen, that on the fourth day after our arrival in London, Polo sailed from the Thames on board a merchant vessel, bound for one of the north ports of the Peninsula, the captain of which, a Scotchman, showed him more hospitality than his duties demanded of him. Thus, then, was I separated from a young friend, who, during a hundred and fifty days of constant alarms, had never quitted me, and who had shared with unalterable good humour the dangers by which I had been surrounded, acquiring by such noble conduct so many claims to my eternal gratitude and friendship.

Polo's voyage to Spain was short and prosperous. On his arrival at Madrid, those who knew him, but were not in the secret of our flight, inquired if he had spent his time pleasantly at Burgos, little thinking he had taken so long a journey. A year afterwards, the heavy wheel of persecution reached him, as well as Nuñez de

Arenas, Belda, and many others who were engaged in the same generous and patriotic labours as himself. Cast into one of the worst dungeons of the public prison of the capital, he suffered torments under which any one possessing a less robust frame and vigorous mind would have sunk. He owed his liberty and his life to the revolution of the Isla, and is at present an exile.*

Our friends learned the success of our flight only when Polo arrived among them. From that time I began to receive news from Spain, which, though more calamitous every time, were more eagerly expected by me. Murfy wrote with all the inquietude and alarm of a man whose destiny was in the hands of a tender female, who, though possessed of an extraordinary firmness of character and superior mind, was now suffering under the oppressive yoke of the inquisitors.

Before closing the subject of the Inquisition, it may not be improper to offer here a slight sketch of the occurrences subsequent to my flight, respecting those who have figured in the foregoing narrative, although by so doing I am anticipating epochs that in the natural course of events precede this, but which, having no connexion with each other, seem to justify this irregularity.

The inquisitors, who, on the day after my escape, resolved that Don Marcelino and Ramona should be confined in separate dungeons, and allowed no communication whatever with the wife and guest of the imprisoned jailer, intrusted to Don Juanito the care of strictly attending to these injunctions. Assisted by several minions, placed under his command, that despicable man had now an ample field to exercise towards the illustrious victim, whom he had always hated, those goading cruelties in which his inhuman heart delighted. Not a day elapsed without some fresh indignity being offered to her.

On the other hand, the tribunal instituted a cause in which Ramona was implicated in a manner no less arbitrary than absurd: for whilst Don Marcelino was accused of not having observed towards me, according to the enjoined rigour, the private regulations of the prison, and of visiting me unaccompanied by Don Juanito, she was charged with having opened the door of the prison that communicates with the jailers' apartment, her master declaring he had shut it when he came to bring me the medicine. This, as the reader is well aware, was not the fact; but Don Marcelino, wishing to mitigate the anger of his superiors, made that declaration, which, fortunately for Ramona, was not believed by them, as otherwise the whole weight of their displeasure would have fallen on her. He also urged, with the view of dissipating the suspicions entertained by the judges, that he was not an accomplice in my flight, and as an acquittal from all blame, his being found shut up in my dungeon; but the inquisitors, who believed that it might be part of the plan of my escape, and who were anxious to obtain the secret of it,

* Since writing the above, we have learned with deep regret the death of this patriotic individual, in Gibraltar.

complicated matters so much, that after several months of useless endeavours, they grew tired not only of the cause, but of inflicting punishment on those from whom they could obtain no satisfactory information, and, therefore, delivered them into other hands. Don Marcelino for allowing himself to be surprised by me, was condemned to the galleys for ten years, and Ramona for no reason at all, to perpetual reclusion in a convent.

This generous girl, after having supported with unshaken fortitude all kinds of misery in the dungeons of the Inquisition, sick, and in the most deplorable state of wretchedness, without even endeavouring to seek the means of alleviating her situation by communicating with Murfy, on whom she had so many claims, and who most assuredly would have assisted her, proceeded to the place of her confinement, where she continued suffering the heavy weight of her sentence till the political events of 1820 restored her to liberty. She then married a soldier of cuirassiers, to whom she had been attached, even previous to her heroical misfortunes. Happy in the humble sphere in which she moved, neither herself nor her husband ever sought to ameliorate their condition when the opportunity offered. A stranger to political opinions, she had done all, suffered all, through the sole impulse of humanity; she therefore asked no recompense from the government, or from a single individual—the consciousness of having acted rightly was her sweetest reward. On my return to Spain, she found in mé a brother, and she never aspired to more.

Don Marcelino, restored to liberty by the same political events, returned to Madrid, and setting forth the sufferings which he had unjustly undergone, obtained from the constitutional government an employment, certainly much more decorous than the disgraceful one which he had formerly exercised.

His former colleague, Don Juanito, who of all the minions of the Inquisition was the only one who dared remain in Madrid in the midst of the exultation of a people who had just broken their chains, and who had the generosity to spare his life, was reserved for an end no less extraordinary than unexpected. Although he had no one to provide for but himself, and although he was possessed of the means of living respectably by what his agency in collecting rents for several gentlemen of Madrid furnished him with, his avarice, which offers such a striking contrast to Ramona's disinterestedness, induced him to adopt a conduct at once unreasonable and inconsistent. No sooner did he see his former colleague in his new post, than seized with the general epidemic, common to most countries among this unprincipled class of men, of acting a part, no matter what might be the subject of the piece, he actually had the effrontery to sue for a place from the government, nay, to present himself in the saloons of the ministers, and claim it as if it were due to him. Meeting with more obstacles in the way of his ambition than he had at first imagined, and resolved to overcome them, the same man,

who in 1820 still wore on his breast the sanguinary badge of the Holy Office, in 1822 assumed the uniform of the national militia, enlisting as a volunteer in the company of grenadiers of the first battalion of Madrid, and from that moment was the most punctual in discharging the duties of his company.

On the memorable 7th of July of the same year, when the troops of the royal guard attempted the counter revolution, our volunteer hastened to join his ranks, who with the rest of the national militia of Madrid fought so gloriously in that unequal struggle, when just at the moment that the guards, vigorously pushed on all sides, were retreating, some of them to take shelter in the king's palace, Don Juanito, who with his comrades was triumphantly pursuing them, as he came near the palace, received a mortal wound from a musket ball, and shortly after expired in the arms of some of his brave companions; to whom, in his dying moments, he expressed the deepest remorse for his past misdeeds. Such was the singular end of a man, who had so much contributed to render more bitter those long days of misery which I spent in the dungeons of the Inquisition.

I shall now resume the thread of my narrative. I had been already five months in London. The retired life which my reduced circumstances obliged me to lead, was so contrary to my natural activity and habits, that every day my spirits became more and more depressed. My imagination, perpetually engrossed by my own disasters, and by those that weighed on my unhappy country, deprived me of the serenity required for any kind of study. On the other hand, my condition of emigrant, amidst a wealthy people, who know not by experience the vicissitudes of revolutions, appeared to me more insupportable; and whenever I attended any party either in town or country, not all the affability and kindness I experienced could prevent my forming melancholy reflections, especially when after a splendid fete I returned to my humble abode, where the contrast of poverty with luxury was so striking, that it never failed to increase the dejection of my spirits.

My private means were also disappearing, and I saw no other resources left me than either to procure assistance by disclosing the secret of my flight to certain men, who though highly respectable were nevertheless strangers to me, or quit England, and seek an adventurer's life in some remote country, where the interests of my own might not be injured. Nothing could be more humiliating to me than the first of these steps; I therefore decided in favour of the latter.

I consulted my friends in Spain, by whose advice and assistance I had hitherto profited; and at the same time declared that I would no longer accept any more sacrifices at their hands. I waited for their approbation, and having received it, nothing more remained for me to do than to fix upon the country where I might, in a manner less repugnant to my feelings, terminate my painful pilgrimage.

CHAPTER XIX.

The author resolves on entering the Russian service—His interview with some gentlemen of the Russian legation in London—Don Fermin Tastet—Mr. Bludoff—Don Antonio Quiroga—The author embarks for Hamburgh—Mr. Strow, consul-general—Kindness of Mr. Von Besseler—Don E. P. de Castro—Journey from Hamburgh to Berlin—Spanish settlers—Arrival in the Prussian capital—Von Hall, a merchant of Berlin—Account of Don Luis Landaburo—Visit to Counsellor Kraft, secretary of the Russian embassy—Genoese spy—The author quits Berlin in company with Secretary Koch.

THE resolution I had formed of pursuing in some remote country the career of arms, in which I had been brought up, naturally led me to fix my eyes on Russia, whose forces were not likely to come into contact with those of Spain, and whose monarch, by far the most enlightened of the continental kings, was universally respected for the moderation with which he used his unlimited power, and for the liberal views he displayed in the internal policy of his empire. Under this favourable impression I finally decided upon Russia, communicating my intention of immediately proceeding thither to a worthy countryman of mine with whom I was intimately connected, and to a Spanish banker, Don Fermin Tastet, long established in London, and whose house I frequented. These gentlemen, the first to whom I disclosed my resolution, manifested the utmost surprise at hearing it, especially when they reflected on the slender foundations upon which my hopes were founded. Their sympathy, however, being excited by the confidence I placed in the success of my undertaking, the banker, who for many years had been intrusted with the pecuniary interests of the Russian embassy in England, offered to exert his influence in my favour. This he effectually accomplished, and the result of his friendly interference soon stimulated me to persevere in my plan; and I was invited to visit one of the gentlemen of the Russian legation, who from the first showed a lively interest in my future destiny.

A gentleman, a friend of the banker, who had been informed of my resolution, undertook to be my Mentor upon this occasion, and preached to me a sermon of two hours, which I then listened to with as much interest as it would be now tedious to repeat, in which he pretended to an intimate knowledge of the Russian character, ending by saying, "You are going to-morrow to visit a Russian gentleman; mind to have your private plan well digested before the interview. The Inquisition has given as much celebrity to Spain as Napoleon to France, and you will be questioned about it and about Ferdinand; your adventures will form the subject of conversation: display your moderation, my dear friend, particularly when Spanish affairs are

brought forward. Indeed, the less is said about it the better; because it is not possible for the Russians to measure the immense distance existing between the events passing on the Guadalquivir and those of the Neva. If you fail in observing the utmost reserve, even with the best friend you may find among them, you are a lost man, for they will not prize your sentiments as they may deserve. In Russia they live under an enlightened despotism; every thing is read there; every thing is discussed. The conspirators who assassinated Paul attended a supper where they drank the health of the new emperor two hours before the murder took place, without making any great secret of it. This will give you an idea how things are managed among that people, and what difference there is between their manners and ours. The Russians and the Spaniards know each other only through the writings of foreigners, in which we are represented as Algerines, and they as Cossacks."

A few hours after this conversation I repaired to the appointed interview, having previously formed my plan according to the advice I had received from the above gentleman, the justness of whose observations I had now, in some measure, an opportunity of ascertaining. On being introduced, I found the Russian gentleman reclining on a sofa, and smoking a long pipe. He received me with much politeness and affability, without however rising from the sofa, pleading as an excuse his having lost a leg in the last campaign, which rendered his reclining posture at times necessary; and, without putting to me any of the questions which had been imagined by my well-informed Mentor, proceeded to speak of my journey and of Petersburgh, as he might have done to a friend. He hinted, in the most delicate manner, that my recent misfortunes, and the resolution I had adopted, excited his deepest interest, and he promised to furnish me with letters of introduction to his friends of that capital and of Berlin. On the following day he presented me to the secretary of the embassy, Mr. Bludoff, at that time Chargé d'Affaires, from whom I was to obtain the most essential requisite for my journey, namely the passport. Mr. Bludoff received me with the same affability as my introductor had done, advising me to procure as my introductor had done, advising me to procure as many letters of recommendation as I possibly could, that I might be better able to obtain admission into the Russian service; because the Emperor, owing to the numberless petitions that had been presented to him in France and Germany, had just issued an ukase, declaring that he would receive no more foreign officers into his army. He added that he feared my rank would render my endeavours to enter the service of the Emperor more difficult. I mentioned my willingness to serve even as a private soldier, and expressed such sentiments as a man at my age and in my situation would be likely to entertain, but Mr. Bludoff smiled, and assured me that on my arrival at St. Petersburgh I should form a more correct opinion of his country

men, and dismiss the erroneous notions which I seemed to have imbibed; adding that he would forward the passport to me through the banker.

November (1818) had just commenced, and soon the navigation of the Baltic would be entirely closed. My slender means required that I should proceed to Petersburgh by sea; but the last vessel for Riga having sailed from the Thames on the 18th, I lost the opportunity of sailing, owing to a delay that occurred in the delivery of the passport, occasioned by some obstacles which were started by the Spanish ambassador to prevent my departure.

Whilst I was in this state of inaction, I received a letter from a lady, a friend of mine, residing at Cadiz; in which, notwithstanding the well-founded fears I entertained of seeing no favourable change take place in the Spanish government so soon as it was to be wished, I read with pleasure a postscript,* written by an old friend and comrade of mine, Colonel Don Antonio Quiroga, who had been in garrison with me at Jaen at the time of my first misfortunes. Uncertain, however, what conduct to follow on this occasion, I communicated the contents of the postscript to some countrymen of mine, (with whom I was in the habit of dining in London at the same table) who dissuaded me from entering into any correspondence with him upon the subject.

On the 20th of the same month I found at the house of the banker the passport and several letters of recommendation, and I made the necessary preparations for my departure.

These once concluded, I found myself master of a passport, ten letters of introduction, a purse with scarcely sixty pounds in it, and a portmanteau of clothes more fit for the drawing-room than for travelling. Such were the slender means with which I resolved to meet the rigour of a climate like that of Russia, and to undertake a journey by land, so long and painful, to seek my fortunes among a people of whose character I was totally ignorant, notwithstanding the various accounts I had read respecting them, and the information I was indebted for to the friend of the banker; but to overbalance these inconveniences, I had good health, a better resolution, and the most sanguine hopes of success.

When I communicated this resolution to those countrymen of mine with whom I usually dined, and who were as little informed on the subject as myself, they considered my undertaking as an act of despair, one prognosticating the loss of my ears or my nose by the severe frosts of the country, another my being sent to Siberia immediately on my arrival in Russia; whilst those who were less intimately acquainted with me, looked upon it as an incomprehensible mystery in open contradiction to liberal principles. My determination, however, was too firmly fixed to be shaken by the opinions of men who did not dive to the bottom of the secret of my enterprise

* See note F.

—imperative necessity; so that I listened to and laughed at their ominous forebodings, and finally took my leave of them.

On the 24th of November, I sailed from Gravesend on board an English merchant vessel bound for Hamburgh, which place we reached three days after. As soon as the vessel cast anchor, I expressed to the captain my desire of going ashore, with which he readily complied, and I soon landed on the quay with my luggage, which was not so strictly searched as it had been on the shores of England, after which I proceeded to the hotel of the king of Prussia.

My first care was to repair to the house of the Russian consul-general, Mr. Stroff, for whom I had a letter of introduction, and who received me very kindly, inviting me to visit him frequently during my stay at Hamburgh. The rest of my recommendations were for some merchants residing there, from whom I likewise met a good reception, but who could be of little or no service to a military man. In justice, however, to a certain class of persons of that country, I ought to relate here a circumstance characteristic of their hospitality. In my endeavours to discover the house of one of the persons to whom I had been recommended, I entered by mistake that of a gentleman, a native of Hamburgh, by name Mr. Von Beseler, who very obligingly guided me to the place of which I was in search, and afterwards insisted on my dining with him on that day; both he and his interesting family doing every thing in their power to render my residence in that city as pleasant as possible.

On the following day, whilst I was writing in my apartment, I received the unexpected visit of a Spaniard, Don S. L. . . ., whom I had known some years back in Madrid as an indefatigable place-hunter, though perfectly incapable of filling any, and who offered no apology for his present intrusion. In the course of conversation I soon ascertained that he was secretary to the Spanish consul-general, who at that time resided at Hamburgh, and that the object of his visit was to discover the motive of my journey there, which he supposed to be connected with some South American scheme, and which would have furnished him with the pretext of taking some measures against me.

While he was still with me, Mr. Von Beseler entered to invite me to spend the day with his family, and as he was already acquainted with some of the adventures of my life, manifested some alarm at seeing S. L. there. Notwithstanding the dulness of the latter, he soon perceived that his company could be dispensed with, and he took his leave, when Mr. Von Beseler said earnestly, "That man is not only a fool, but very ill-intentioned. I have met him before this, and I know he is reputed as such. He will bring you into trouble, if we do not prevent it. Finish your letters, and let us immediately go to Mr. Stroff, to solicit his protection; and should this fail, we will take you to Altona, where you may be [illegible] reach of danger."

I told him that I did not think the Russian consul, or even the government of the country, would ever allow of my being in the least molested, to which Mr. Von Beseler replied, that the influence of any small German state was too limited to be safely confided in. We consequently proceeded to the house of the Russian consul, who, on being informed of the object of our visit, assured me that I had nothing to fear, as, besides the guarantee which my passport afforded me, the character of Don Evaristo Perez de Castro, the immediate chief of L...., was such as to dispel any apprehensions I might entertain.

The diligence for Berlin left Hamburgh on that day, and as I only learned this when it was too late to profit of the opportunity, I was obliged to wait for the next, which did not start for three days, during which I passed most of my time in the society of Mr. Von Beseler's family. In this interval my letters for Berlin and Petersburgh increased, and L...., under the pretext of giving me a letter for a friend of his in the last city, again attempted to see me; but as I had ascertained that he had sounded the consul-general for the purpose of having me claimed from the government, I gave orders to the servants to deny me to him.

On the day before my departure, Mr. Von Beseler took me with his family to a country-house, beautifully situated near Altona, where he treated me with a banquet in the Spanish style, prepared by an old soldier of the army of the Marquis de la Romana, who had remained behind, and established himself as cook in this country-house.

Early on the following day, I visited the Russian consul, from whom I received back my passport, as well as some letters of introduction, and the most sincere wishes for the success of my journey. I also took my farewell of the amiable family of Mr. Von Beseler, who accompanied me to the diligence. Thus from the first moment of our accidental acquaintance, this gentleman showed me attentions which I could hardly have expected from the most intimate friend.

The road from Hamburgh to Berlin was so dismal, the diligence so excessively inconvenient, the inns so wretched, and the company every where so inferior, that I found no pleasure in any thing that came within my notice. In Spain the inns are generally bad; but there is a certain cheerfulness, which has been justly described by Cervantes. Not so in those which are met on the road to Berlin: every thing is dull beyond expression; houses, landlords, dogs, furniture, every thing reminds one of All-Souls day in Spain.

Along the high road are seen a great number of houses inhabited by Spaniards, who had accompanied La Romana in his expedition with Bernadotte in 1806, and who having remained in the hospitals, afterwards married and established themselves in that country. Wishing to know if they remembered their country and their banners, I put the question to one who appeared still to retain his native vivacity. He answered, that he had more reason to remember the

accursed surgeon, who was the cause of his remaining behind, by keeping him in the hospital till it was too late to join his comrades. He had two children, who spoke both Spanish and German very fluently, and who acted as my interpreters.

The country was partially covered with snow, and the uninterrupted dulness of the atmosphere increased the tedium of the journey, till at length, towards the close of the second day, the aspect of the country changed; and as we advanced, I easily perceived that we were approaching the residence of the Fredericks. Our intolerable carriage entered Berlin about noon at its usual slow pace; and once my luggage and passport examined by the custom-house and police officers, I proceeded to the hotel of the Golden Angel, where I had been recommended to alight. In the evening I called upon Mr. Von Hall, a rich Jewish merchant, for whom I had brought a letter of introduction, and whom I found surrounded by a numerous family. Being invited to spend the evening in their society, which, owing to his birthday being celebrated on that day, was extremely well attended, the conversation turned upon Don Luis Landaburo, the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin, who was filling *pro tem.* the post which his brother had just left vacant by an unpremeditated suicide. These two gentlemen, one of them a colonel, were of the number of those whose names the inquisitors were unable to discover, and whose letters were in their possession. The account which the banker gave me of that unfortunate event made such an impression on me, that he easily remarked the deep interest I felt for them, and without informing me of it, wrote to the colonel, acquainting him of my arrival; when soon after I was agreeably surprised by the presence of my friend, whose invitation to breakfast with him on the following morning, to talk without restraint over our affairs, I gladly accepted.

As my friend did not place much reliance on the attendants belonging to the embassy, I was announced to him under a feigned name. Our mutual misfortunes were the subject of conversation, my flight from the Inquisition being known to him rather through the public papers than by direct information from Spain; while I was totally ignorant of the tragic death of his brother until it was mentioned to me by Mr. Von Hall. Since I parted from Polo, I had not enjoyed such a moment of unreserved confidence as that which I passed with my friend, who, on learning that I had a letter of recommendation for the secretary of the Russian embassy, advised me not to defer my visit, as he was the only person in Berlin who could be of any real service to me.

On arriving at the house of the secretary, Counsellor* Kraft, I caused myself to be announced, and meantime put my hand into

* In Russia all the diplomatic agents belong to the Council of State, though the denominations differ according to their rank in the Council.

my pocket for my letter of recommendation, which I found had disappeared, along with my pocket-book, which contained other letters, as well as some notes, then of consequence to me. Having in vain searched and searched again, I hastily descended the stairs, to avoid giving a man, whom I had never seen, a sinister impression of my visit; but I had hardly gained the street, when the servant came running after me, and the secretary himself appeared at the window, requesting my return. Obliged to appear before him without my credentials, I own I felt greatly embarrassed how to break the matter to him in such a manner as not to raise unfavourable suspicions in his mind respecting my intentions or my understanding. This was the more increased as his countenance was the very picture of intelligence; and besides the servant who kept his eyes fixed on me, there was another spectator who witnessed the scene in a looking-glass, apparently highly entertained at it. At length, after a few minutes silence, I informed him of my name, and that I was the bearer of a letter which I had lost, and of a passport which I had inadvertently left at the hotel. He smiled, and inquired the hour when he might find me at home, adding that on the following morning he would repay me this visit, and after many civilities, accompanied me to the stairs, which I scarcely know whether I descended or rolled down, so great appeared to me the ridicule I must have excited.

I hastened to the inn, and searched in every place; but neither my pocket-book nor my letters were to be found. I then proceeded to the house of my Spanish friend, who, on hearing my loss, and suspecting one of those by whom he was surrounded, managed things so well, that the pocket-book was found secreted in a certain place, where a copy of its contents had been commenced by a Genoese spy, who considered it as a welcome offering to the inquisitors and his employers. I was no less rejoiced at the recovery of my pocket-book, than surprised at the dexterity and barefacedness of the fellow who stole it; particularly as the great coat, in the pocket of which it was, had been in my sight during breakfast.

Early on the following day, while I was in my room conversing with Gustmann, my landlord, who, supposing I should make a long stay at Berlin, was willing to give me lessons in German, Counsellor Kraft entered. I was now able to present him with the letter I brought for him, which he, however, put into his pocket without reading, saying with a smile that it was not necessary, as the Russian secretary of Hamburgh, Mr. Koch, had just arrived, and given an account of my situation by the desire of the consul-general. Mr. Kraft, wishing to compensate for the unpleasantness of our first meeting, invited me to dine with him and Mr. Koch on the following day, an invitation which I accepted with double pleasure; and being informed of the object of my journey, and of the kind of introductions I had for St. Petersburgh, he gave me a most accurate

idea of the character, sentiments, and influence of each of the persons for whom I had letters. To say the truth, his information was such as greatly to damp my hopes; and on weighing the numberless inconveniences I had to encounter, I came to the sudden resolution of proceeding to Vienna to meet the Emperor Alexander, who was on his way thither from Aix-la-Chapelle, and to present myself to him, in order to ascertain at once the probable consequence of my enterprise. Mr. Kraft did not at all approve of this; on the contrary, persuaded that my original plan was by far the best, he exhorted me to persevere in it, and entered into a full explanation of the method of conducting such affairs as mine in his country.

I found at first sight in Counsellor Kraft a sort of diplomatic frankness, which, although studied, was such as an emigrant would be glad often to meet with in society. His discourse, however, produced in me a degree of irresolution which for some time was unconquerable. Meanwhile, I visited every place worthy of notice in Berlin in the company of some of my friends, and spent much of my time in a reading-room where I had been presented by one of the members. A foreigner, and particularly one in my circumstances, finds this extensive and beautiful city devoid of all interest from the absence of social intercourse which even among the inhabitants is but contracted. The theatre, therefore, was the only resource of which I now and then availed myself, though most of my evenings were spent at the house of an old Prussian general, to whom I had been introduced by my Spanish friend, who with myself formed his usual party.

On the day I dined with Mr. Kraft, he introduced me to Mr. Koch, the secretary of the consul-general of Hamburgh, whom I had not seen during my residence there. This gentleman, who had obtained leave to repair to Livonia, his native country, spoke during dinner of his journey, and of the unpleasantness of travelling alone. From the tenor of his conversation it was easy for me to discover the good intention of his friend in this introduction, and the delicacy he observed in his wish to oblige me. My own, however, obliged me to take no notice of this hint, a conduct which I perceived excited the surprise of Mr. Kraft. On the following day, when I called upon him as usual, he told me in a pointed manner, that his friend was anxious I should accept the vacant seat in his carriage; that the expenses of posts were the same; and that such an offer, far from offending me, ought to be considered by me as a tender of friendship from a man, who, having heard the adventures of my life, felt interested in my future welfare, and who would defer his journey as long as it suited me. Having said this, he conducted me to the house of his friend, who repeated the offer he had made to me through Mr. Kraft. As I could not consider it in any other light than as a proof of his kind regard for me, I accepted it, manifesting the pleasure I felt at his proposal; and having no motive to

defer my departure from Berlin, I placed myself entirely at his disposal.

The good state of my wardrobe in some measure concealed my real situation; but when once I became the travelling companion of another, it could not fail to be soon observed. It was about the middle of December, and I was going to undertake a journey unprovided with the fur clothing, which every respectable person wears in those climates, no less for comfort than fashion. As Mr. Koch did not travel in a carriage of his own, those who are acquainted with the open and inconvenient vehicle used in posting on the road to St. Petersburgh, and who, moreover, know the rigours of a northern climate from December forward, will be able to form a tolerable idea of the inconveniences that awaited me, and which I could not avoid for reasons not very difficult to be guessed.

When my countryman, the colonel, learned this news, he warmly congratulated me on my good fortune. Knowing, as I did, that the situation he filled was far from being lucrative, since for several months he had been living at his own expense without receiving the smallest remittance from the Spanish government, I had not mentioned to him my reduced circumstances. Indeed, the more contracted they became, the less inclination I felt to disclose them; but when the moment for our departure was at hand, my kind friend brought to mind the balance of an account owing to me, which I had entirely forgotten, and which, on my refusing to accept, he converted into a present of two necessary articles of winter clothing.

Mr. Von Hall, on my taking leave of him, increased the number of my letters of recommendation, and kindly offered to forward to Russia the correspondence of my family and friends, an offer which he never failed to fulfil.

Our departure took place on the 18th of December, when I left the hotel of the Golden Angel, surprised at the moderate bill of the honest Gustmann, who, I think, had he not been afraid of wounding my delicacy, would not have presented me with any, and who, as he bid me farewell, lamented my not endeavouring to gain admission into the Prussian service.

On my arriving at the hotel where Mr. Koch resided, I found the post-chaise waiting at the door, and in his apartment my protector Mr. Kraft. My countryman, seeing the generous conduct observed by these gentlemen, did not hesitate to be present on this occasion, to the no small surprise of the latter, who believed us to be of opposite opinions. Thus the Spanish Chargé d'Affaires (a very singular circumstance at this or at any time) shared with the Russian counsellor the friendly attention of bidding farewell to an emigrant in my situation.

CHAPTER XX.

The travellers arrive at the Vistula—City of Konigsberg—Description—Road to Memel—Curishe Haft—Memel—A Muscovite merchant—Amber collected—They enter Russia—Village of Palangen—Russian travelling—Adventures—Mittau—Its palace—Passage across the ice of the River Dwina—Riga—Industry of the ladies—Journey to St. Petersburgh—Intemperance—Apathy of the serfs of Livonia—Wretched inns—The author takes leave of Mr. Koch at Dorpat.

We left Berlin at eleven o'clock in the morning, the weather being extremely foggy, and the ground partially covered with snow. From the first my travelling companion observed my slight clothing, the only articles of my winter dress consisting of a pair of furred boots and gloves, and of a Spanish cloak, which, being the same that my friends of Madrid furnished me with on the night of my escape, was so much worn as to be of little or no use. This attire in Russia was no less singular than insufficient. Wishing, however, to conceal from Mr. Koch my real wants, and following the example of a proud Castilian, I assured him that I was so accustomed to this cloak as to stand in no need of warmer clothing, and that, though a Spaniard and born in a warm climate, I was as capable of resisting the rigour of a northern one as a native himself.

We travelled the whole day along a road more frequented and less monotonous than that of Hamburgh, and reached towards night a post house, where we met with the Russian suite of the empress-mother, who was to leave Berlin for St. Petersburgh on the following day, and for whom most of the horses were engaged. It was with the greatest difficulty, therefore, that we succeeded in obtaining fresh horses, and not till after midnight that we were enabled to proceed, though always at the mercy of our phlegmatic postilions. Towards evening we arrived at Culm, on the banks of the wide Vistula, the waters of which being nearly frozen over, prevented our farther progress that night, which we spent at an inn at no great distance from the river.

The more intimate I became with my companion, the more I congratulated myself upon having made his acquaintance. The equanimity of his temper, his affability, delicacy, and above all his enlightened notions and great fund of information, which rendered his conversation as varied as it was instructive, were more than sufficient to compensate for the many inconveniences of the journey.

At break of day we left the inn, and whilst the postilion undertook to see the carriage safely landed on the opposite banks of the Vistula, we committed ourselves to the care of some bargemen, who, after struggling for three quarters of an hour against the

floating ice, succeeded in effecting the passage. In this part of Prussia, formerly belonging to Poland, the attendance at the post-houses and at the inns was much improved; so that on the fifth day of our departure from Berlin, we reached Konigsberg; where Mr. Koch, desirous that I should form some idea of the large cities through which we passed, proposed a short stay. Various causes had hitherto prevented me from taking any notes of my journey; but the example of my excellent companion induced me to begin my journal here, without which it is probable I should have travelled on engrossed with the reflections produced by the incertitude of my future fate, and with as much indifference as my portmanteau.

It is not unlikely but that I may now and then repeat what has been observed by other travellers under more favourable circumstances, and whose minds were less embarrassed; in which case, however, my testimony will confirm what another may have before said. At all events, as it is not my intention to enlarge much on places generally known, but only on countries less frequented, my laconism, I hope, will conciliate all.

The city of Konigsberg is situated on the borders of the Frische Haft, and covers a considerable extent of unequal ground. It contains between sixty and seventy thousand inhabitants, and its commerce consists chiefly of hemp, potash, wood, and grain, exported from Poland. Its garrison is, in my opinion, too small for such a large and important place. The palace of the grand master of the Teutonic order, who formerly resided here, still exists, though in a very neglected state. Mr. Koch and myself were conducted by a respectable Prussian veteran to the great Teutonic tower, from which the whole city and its environs are seen, doubtless affording, in summer, a magnificent *coup-d'œil;* though at this season, and especially on the day we visited it, we could see nothing but an extensive sheet of snow, covering the ground, the trees, and the roofs of the houses. Indeed, were it not that the character of my companion was superior to any kind of practical jokes, I should have thought that his intention in taking me there was to put to trial my resistance against the cold, and punish me for having boasted of being impervious to the winter atmosphere of a northern climate. From the tower, Mr. Koch showed me the roads to Memel and Tilsit, both of which are in the direction of Russia; but the weather was too hazy to allow my forming a correct idea of the bad choice made by Mr. Koch, in proceeding on our journey by that of Memel.

We left Konigsberg, thirty-six hours after our arrival, by the Memel road, which is certainly deserving of notice. I never inquired the whimsical motive of Mr. Koch in preferring it to that of Tilsit, by which I should have been glad to proceed, to see the memorable place where the destiny of my country was decided. From Konigsberg to Memel, the road is formed on a neck of soft

and moving sand, which separates the waters of the Baltic from those of a lake called Curische Haft, which, with another, gives rise to the river Memel, on the banks of which stands the city of the same name. We travelled the greatest part of our road literally wading through water, with a double number of horses, though without scarcely knowing whether the wind, the water, or the horses, impelled the open and uncomfortable carriage in which Mr. Koch and myself were packed, together with our luggage. Wearied of the slowness of our conveyance, we no sooner came to dry ground than we alighted and travelled on foot two leagues, till we arrived at a place called Nidden, where we changed horses. Here we met a Muscovite merchant, who was on his way to Germany, carrying with him a great stock of *ykra*.* His personal appearance was no less curious to me than the sledges which I had seen for the first time of my life on the previous day: he wore a long beard, and the Muscovite dress; but what principally amused me was the extravagant joy he manifested at hearing my companion speak his native language, and he showed himself so serviceable and attentive, that he did not rest till he procured us a change of horses, with which we proceeded on our journey through that sea of sand, at the same snail's pace as before.

When we distinguished the lighthouse of Memel, we hailed its glimmering as cordially as might seamen on a stormy night; and having at about ten o'clock arrived at the banks of the river Memel, where the sandy neck of land terminated, we crossed over in a boat to the port, and spent the night at a hotel, the landlord of which was not quite so moderate in his charges as the honest Gustmann; the bill we were here presented with for our beds and a breakfast, far exceeding that which the latter made out for the whole time of my residence at Berlin.

Early in the morning we started with the same train of horses and postilions as on the previous day. As we passed through the town, we observed that the streets were tolerably straight, and the houses regularly built: the great market-place, which is at one extremity of the town, was very crowded at the time we drove through. On the outskirts of the town are a great number of sawing mills, the wood being generally brought from Poland and Lithuania by the Danga and the Memel: the neighbouring strands were crowded with fishermen, employed in collecting amber, for which it was then the season. The weather was bright and serene, and the road as pleasant as it had been disagreeable on the former day.

Nimmersatz was the last relay or post-house in Prussia where we changed horses. When we came in sight of the Russian barrier, which was soon after leaving that place, my friend advised me

* The salted roes of a fish, which in Russia are eaten raw.

to put my Spanish cloak aside; "for there," said he, pointing to the barrier, "we shall meet Cossacks, who, should they take a dislike to your cloak, may transfer it to your person, and then, heaven knows what may happen." This he said in a joking manner; but as I had heard by no means favourable accounts of these men, I implicitly believed him, and throwing my cloak aside, doomed it for sale to the next Jew I should meet.

On reaching the barrier, we were detained but a very short time: the commanding officer of the station, having spoken a few words with Mr. Koch, gave orders to a Cossack to accompany us as far as Palangen, which is the first village of Russia along this road. Here we alighted at the custom-house, where our luggage underwent a slight examination, and where the police officer wrote down my name, my profession, and the object of my journey; an information which was to be immediately sent by post to St. Petersburgh, and which would reach that capital even before we should have proceeded half way on our road. The circumstance of my travelling in the company of an individual holding a public situation, very much lessened the many formalities to which a foreigner is subject on the Russian frontiers.

On leaving the office we were assailed by a number of Jewish coachmen, who offered to take us to Riga by short journeys; but Mr. Koch, who knew the inconveniences resulting from this mode of travelling, paid no attention to them, and we proceeded to the carriage that was waiting for us at the post-house, when we left the village Palangen, which is inhabited by Polish Catholics and Jews, and is the only place belonging to Samogitia which is met with in proceeding towards the interior; the next district, which commences within a short distance of that village, being that of Courland.

The roads in Russia are measured by wersts, seven of which are equivalent to two French leagues. All the wersts are marked by wooden posts, painted with the national colours, and bearing a number, that denotes the distance from St. Petersburgh. The length of each stage is graduated according to the nature of the ground, and is from eleven to twenty-six wersts. The charges of each relay are uniform throughout the empire, whether the traveller be a native or a foreigner; military men, however, pay less. With respect to the inns, they differ as in every country.

As the weather was very fine, we travelled on without stopping any where during the whole day, and towards evening reached a post-house with voracious appetites. The master of it was an old German, who spoke French very fluently, and who told us he had been in the service of Frederic II.; thereupon he entered into a long and tedious account of himself, and showed us the scars of the wounds he had received in the wars; but, observing we were more anxious for our dinners than for the narrative of his exploits, he said

he had a princely repast to offer us, with exquisite wine to boot, but when the moment arrived, we found it impossible, hungry as we were, to do more than taste the filthy wine and indigestible dishes that were brought before us. To crown the adventure, our postilion was no where to be found, and all the horses being engaged for the suite of the empress-mother, we were unable to proceed. Wishing, however, to avoid spending the night at such a wretched hovel, we obtained a change of horses by dint of flattering the German, and paying him in full the unreasonable bill he presented to us.

The night was rather dark, and we had not seen the figure of our postilion, or even heard his voice; but we suspected, by the slowness of his movements, that he was some old crony of his master. On arriving towards the end of the relay, he began to blow a bugle with all his might, surprising us with a number of flourishes. Mr. Koch informed me that we were going to cross a small river, and that the blast with which we had been regaled was a warning for the bargeman. Our vehicle then stopped before the door of an inn, which stood on an elevated spot, and the postilion, alighting, asked Mr. Koch's permission to enter the inn to drink a glass of brandy, whilst the bargeman answered his sign. It was midnight, and we expected soon to cross the river; but after waiting a quarter of an hour for his return, and seeing that the fellow did not come out, I alighted and proceeded towards a window, where a light was perceivable. As I looked through it, I saw what I certainly did not expect, but what convinced me that the flourishes of his bugle were addressed to a very different person from the bargeman. Our postilion was sitting near a table with a huge flagon beside him, and a wench on his knee. Provoked beyond expression at this unseasonable courtship, I shook the window till it flew open, and, before my companion had time to alight and witness the scene, both the hero and the heroine came to the door of the inn, the latter holding a lantern in her hand, by which I observed she was an ugly kitchen wench of about eighteen, and he a young man of five-and-twenty. Displeased with my interruption, he muttered something at my impatience, and at the unseasonableness of my call, and again blew his bugle, though by no means so vigorously as he had before done, after which we gained the barge, and continued our way without farther interruption.

Although it was now towards the end of December, the weather was so extraordinarily mild, that I much doubt whether it was warmer in the south of Europe, a circumstance by no means common in this climate. In proportion as we advanced, the relays were better attended; and I was much struck with the fragrance emitted by the pine forests of Courland, which bordered each side of the road. Towards the close of the day, we reached the last post-house before coming to Mittau, the master of which was a young Courland officer, who had just retired from the imperial service, and who was

slightly acquainted with Mr. Koch. He gave us an excellent dinner, and kept us company, relating several amusing anecdotes of Mittau; and when the moment of our departure arrived, he presented us with such a moderate bill of our expenses, as to convince us that he had not yet forgotten the practice of one of the few good qualities that are acquired in the military career,—disinterestedness.

At ten o'clock at night we entered Mittau, and alighted at the hotel of the Eagle. This was the first night we began to experience the rigours of winter.

Mittau, the ancient capital of the duchy of Courland, is far from being a populous town. Most of the houses are constructed of wood, and the remainder of brick; the streets are regular, and very clean. The palace of the ancient dukes is seen just at the entrance of the town on the road to Riga, and is the same in which the royal emigrants of France resided.

We left Mittau at noon on the following day. The frosts, which before our arrival there had already commenced, produced their ordinary effects, the rivers, lakes, and every sheet of water being frozen over. Half-way from that city to Riga, we crossed the river Grossbach over a bridge to which, in 1812, the advanced troops of Napoleon's great army reached.

Having, contrary to our custom, stopped some time at one of the post-houses, it was eleven o'clock at night when we came to the banks of the Dwina, which, by the accounts we had received from various travellers, we had been led to believe was still navigable; but the frosts had been so severe, that we found this broad river completely blocked up by the ice, and we were the first who crossed its frozen surface. The postilion, who seemed as willing to serve us as the fellow, on the previous night, had been eager to serve himself, offered to take us over in the carriage without incurring any risk, and having trusted ourselves to his skill, we entered that imposing sheet of ice, the brilliancy of which was rendered doubly dazzling by the reflection of the moon; and, after half-an-hour's incertitude, we succeeded in reaching the opposite bank. The streets of Riga were so solitary, that we lost much time and patience in finding some place where to spend the night: at length, we met with a lodging at an inferior hotel.

We remained two days at Riga. The first thing I observed, in going out of the inn, was a monument in the middle of the square, on the pedestal of which is an inscription both in Russian and French, transmitting to posterity the triumph of the former over the *European coalition*, when its independence was threatened; and I remarked that no exception was made in favour of a nation which was, even at that time, struggling for [redacted] own independence.

The weather, though cold, was cle[redacted] and I proceeded to examine the part of the river over which we had crossed at midnight; but the ice was now so thick, that the river was literally a public walk,

on which sledges, carriages, and skaters, were rapidly moving to and fro. In summer, this river is crowded with vessels of all nations. The citadel of Riga is finely situated. In it the unfortunate prince Ivan, who fell a victim to the intrigues, recorded in the history of the country, at the epoch of the Empress Elizabeth, met his tragic end.

Riga did not seem to me a very cheerful city. Mr. Koch, in order to compensate for the want of society, proposed our going to the theatre, of which he gave me a most brilliant description. On our repairing thither, I was so much disappointed both with the appearance and size of the house, that I could not help remarking the same to Mr. Koch, who, having seen a good deal of the world, was a stranger to that national fanaticism so common to men who have never travelled out of their own country. He laughed, and said that I should nevertheless find cause for amusement, and it was even so; for no sooner had the ladies of Riga occupied their seats in the boxes, than I fancied myself in some work-room; every one of them busily employing herself in knitting stockings, a labour which they performed with amazing dexterity of hand. This was to me a more novel and amusing spectacle than the performance, which I did not understand. On leaving the theatre, I was curious to see if the ladies continued their knitting during their drive home, but I observed they had put up their work for the night.

As Mr. Koch's journey was to terminate half-way between Riga and St. Petersburg, he engaged a travelling vehicle, which, though open, was more comfortable than those furnished by the post-houses, and the driver of which agreed to regulate his days' journeys according to our pleasure. Our coachman was as cheerful and active as we had hitherto found most of our postilions dull and phlegmatic, and I should have been glad to have had his services to the capital, which is above five hundred and sixty wersts from Riga. Along the high road through Livonia, are found, at short distances, filthy public-houses, called in the country *khartchamas*, before the doors of which are usually seen a multitude of wretched carts and sledges, belonging to the peasants, who are so greatly addicted to brandy and strong liquors, that they spend whole hours in those places without paying the least regard to their horses, which they leave thus exposed to the inclemency of the weather, and which with themselves belong to the gentlemen or noblemen of the country. Nothing proves so much the state of barbarism in which these men are sunk, as the manner in which they received the decree, issued about this time by the Emperor Alexander, for partly emancipating some of the Livonian serfs. These savages, unwilling to depend upon their own exertions for support, made all the resistance in their power to oppose that decree, the execution of which was at length intrusted to an armed force.

We spent five days in going from Riga to Dorpat, in the vicinity

of which the family of my excellent companion resided. We passed some of the nights in the disgusting khartchamas, Wolmery and Walque being the only two villages where we found better accommodation. In the inn of the latter we met a number of students returning to their homes for the vacation, and travelling together on foot, with the same good humour and unsubdued spirits as those whom I had often met in Spain.

On arriving at Dorpat, we alighted at a most comfortable inn, where my companion was well known. The night, so long in that country during the winter months, being very clear, we walked about the town, my friend taking great pleasure in showing me the places which he had frequented from his infancy. Dorpat, though by no means a large city, is well built; and, according to my companion's account, there is much social intercourse among the inhabitants, which I the more easily believed, as I have always found the character of the Livonians kind and affable in the extrême.

The intelligence, received by Mr. Koch on our arrival here, obliging him to accelerate our separation, we took leave of each other as two old friends might have done, on my part receiving from him unequivocal proofs of a generous and sincere friendship. I am convinced that, had he not been obliged immediately to join his orphan sisters, of whom he was the only support, the term granted him for this visit being but short, he would have accompanied me to the capital. As it was, foreseeing the inconveniences that awaited me, he endeavoured in some measure to obviate them, by drawing up a very minute itinerary from Dorpat to St. Petersburgh, which I still preserve as a memorial of his friendly conduct towards me, and by procuring me a *feuille de poste*, an indispensable requisite to proceed on my journey. He also gave me all the information he possessed respecting the capital; and, as he was aware that I could not speak a single word of Russian, he taught me a few phrases, to relieve the pantomimic duties upon which I should be obliged to enter.

CHAPTER XXI.

Russian post-vehicles and postilions—Accident—The author proceeds through the snows in a sledge—His arrival at Narva—Approaches St. Petersburgh—First difficulties—Russian nobles—Dr. Ehsen—Interview with Prince Wolkonsky—Baron Rall—Festival of the Epiphany—Blessing the frozen Neva—General Betancourt—Visit to Romansow—M. Zea Bermudez arrives on a mission to St. Petersburgh—Character of Prince Andrew Galitzin—Hospitality and generosity of the Russians—Friendship of Mr. S. L....—The author petitions Alexander for admission into the Russian service.

I WAS now to undertake my journey alone in a sort of post-cart, called in the country *telega*, resembling a box without a lid placed upon two coarsely made wooden axles, supported by four wheels, and drawn by two very small rough ponies. My portmanteau being placed across the cart, I took my seat on it, whilst the postilion, seated on a board in the front of the cart, guided the horses, which were most wretchedly harnessed. We left Dorpat at the real post pace; but my conductor, who had about as much intellect as his horses, paid as little attention as they to the direction he was to follow, and we travelled on towards Riga, without my perceiving his mistake until we came to a rustic triumphal arch which had been prepared for the expected arrival of the Empress-Mother at some distance from Dorpat. To convince him of this mistake, I exhausted all the Russian phrases I had learned from my friend; but he seemed to understand my signs better, and took the opposite direction.

Hitherto there had been no falls of snow during our journey in Russia; but on the morning of my departure from Dorpat, the earth was covered with it, and as we advanced, it increased. The country, therefore, offered to me no object which might engage my attention, and as I could not make myself understood by my postilions, the time passed on heavily. I had been advised by Mr. Koch to urge these men forward by bestowing on them a few copper pieces, which in any other country in Europe would have been thrown in my face, but which were received by the Russian postilions with the most extravagant demonstrations of gratitude. Indeed, some of them threw themselves on the ground, and embraced my knees, while the cracking of their whips, and the velocity of their horses, confirmed the sincere joy they felt.

This kind of encouragement on my part, however, had nigh been of serious consequence to me. We had passed the great lake of Peipous, on which a number of fishermen have their dwellings, and earn their subsistence, when we reached the village of Schaudley, where, as at the former post-houses, I presented my license, and was immediately furnished with a *telega* and horses.

Perceiving that my new postilion was well inclined to serve me, I made the usual offer, and no sooner were we out of the village, than he set his horses at full gallop, rashly urging their speed when he ought to have checked it, till at length the horses became unruly, and he losing his command over them, the slight *telega* was dashed to pieces, and I was thrown to a great distance, striking my chest against a large stone; whilst the postilion, still holding to the fore-wheels, was dragged over the snow for a considerable distance, without my being able to afford him any assistance. After much trouble, and leaving my portmanteau on the road, I returned to the post-house, where I was immediately surrounded by several people, who administered to me all except what I really wanted, but vainly endeavoured to explain. As the motion of a post-cart could not fail to be unpleasant as long as I felt the effects of my fall, and as the snow was so thick on the ground, I asked for a sledge, and after considerable trouble succeeded in making them understand the object of my wishes. My clothing was certainly not the best adapted for this mode of travelling, and in a climate too, the severity of which became greater as I advanced; but persuaded that the danger of being dragged on through the snow in a sledge at a rapid rate could not be great, with my usual inducements I stimulated the conductors to hasten forward, anxious only to reach the place of my destination, and unmindful of the pain in my chest, which I thought would have no serious results. In four and twenty hours after my departure from Dorpat, I reached Narva.

On entering the city gates, a corporal asked for my passport, and soon after an officer came forward, who, seeing the state in which I was, advised me in French to take some repose at a hotel he mentioned, and desired the postilion to conduct me thither, assuring me he would take care I should receive my passport signed by the proper authority. Having arrived at the hotel, the landlord, finding that I could not make myself understood, sent for a gentleman, who, like most people of his class in Russia, spoke French and German very fluently, and who was good enough to keep me company, and act as my interpreter. Although I found my chest much bruised and swollen, and was recommended immediately to procure medical advice, as soon as my passport was brought to me, I declared my intention of proceeding on my journey, being unwilling to make any stay at Narva. My obliging interpreter then hired a carriage for me, properly Russian, the coachman of which engaged to carry me to St. Petersburgh in four and twenty hours, at a price extremely moderate.

This kind of carriage is so large that one may travel in it at full length. The coachman standing up, drives three horses abreast, the reins being suspended to a wooden arch, rising about two feet above the neck of the middle horse, and supported by the shafts of the carriage. From the arch hangs a large bell, which is an indis-

pensable appendage to a Russian travelling carriage. The character of the coachmen and postilions is uniformly cheerful throughout the empire, and offers a striking contrast to those of Germany. My present conductor, following the directions given him by my interpreter, placed in the carriage a mattress which I hired from the landlord, that I might travel the more comfortably, and towards the close of the same day, I proceeded on my journey.

On leaving Narva, we descended a steep hill at the foot of which meanders the river Naroussky, whose borders are celebrated in the life of Charles XII. of Sweden, as being the theatre where the greatest part of the essays of regular warfare were made, which gave rise to the organization of the gigantic armies of Russia.

We made a short stay at midnight at a tolerable good inn, situated in a solitary part of the road. The honest coachman did all in his power to make me understand the interest he felt for me, and his readiness to serve me; but my chief anxiety was to know how far we were from St. Petersburgh, a curiosity which however remained ungratified. From Narva to the capital I perceived a progressive improvement in the population, in the attendance on the road, and in the prospects of the country; and just at the time promised by the coachman, we arrived at the numerous country houses which border each side of the road about a league from the capital.

On arriving at the gates, a corporal desired me to alight, that I might speak with the officer on guard, who, seeing my indisposition, made many apologies, and begged that I would immediately return to the carriage, to which he accompanied me; at the same time mentioning the formalities I was to observe respecting the police, and giving me some useful advice, saying among other things:—"You come from countries where any respectable person travels without a servant, and is every where well received; but here the masters of the hotel will think it strange that you should come unattended, and if I had one of my servants here at hand, I would with pleasure lend him to you, that you might avoid the disagreeable inconveniences which I fear you will experience."

With this I was partly acquainted from what Mr. Koch had mentioned of the difficulty of finding private apartments in St. Petersburgh, owing to the want of a certain middle class, who, in most cities of Europe, let a part of their houses for the sake of economy. The event proved that the officer's apprehensions were well founded: for after driving about the principal streets for more than four hours, we could find no lodging. On arriving at the hotel of London, to which I had been recommended by the gentleman of Narva, I imagined I should gain admittance by mentioning his name and recommendation; but though I added many offers, I was not even listened to. They saw my want of good fur dress and the rustic carriage in which I arrived without any attendant, and they shut the door upon me. I experienced the same treatment wherever I applied

At length, as we passed before the hotel of Europe, which is situated opposite the palace, and is doubtless one of the best, I made another attempt, but certainly did not expect to succeed. The master of the hotel, however, without evincing the least disinclination to receive me, conducted me to a large saloon (the only apartment he had then vacant) which I accepted without hesitation, requesting him to procure me a medical attendant to examine my chest, which had grown much worse during my day's journey. He gave immediate orders to this effect, procured me a servant to wait on me, and constituted himself my superintendent, little aware of the reduced state of my finances.

When the surgeon came to visit me, he ordered an immense number of leeches to be applied to my chest, a prescription, which, though it doubtless saved me from a serious illness, made great inroads on my diminished purse; but I consoled myself by writing a few lines to my good friend at Dorpat, fearing I should not find one in the capital who could so effectually console me.

Three days after my arrival, the inflammation being subdued, I prepared to make a salutary reform in the numerous retinue with which the serviceable landlord had supplied me, and to visit those persons, whom it was absolutely necessary I should see, to produce the desired change in my present desolate situation.

The Count of Romansow, an ancient personage of the court; Count Soltikow, a general, retired from the service, who had figured in a former epoch; the two brothers Tourgueniew,* and Dr. Elisen, all three counsellors of state; General Betancourt, a Spaniard by birth, director of the bridges and roads of the empire, and enjoying the favour of the monarch; the bankers Livio, and the Baron Rall, with several other individuals of less note, were those for whom I had brought letters of recommendation. Mr. Kraft, the secretary of Embassy at Berlin, had pointed out to me those who were more likely to forward the object of my journey; but the magnificent appearance of their houses, the little respect paid in that country to one dressed as a private gentleman, and without decorations, and the recent rebukes I had experienced at the hotels,—every thing contributed to intimidate me. Still, as my circumstances admitted of no delay, I endeavoured, from the moment of my recovery, to devise the best means to obtain my object.

On the day I intended to commence my visits, I put several questions respecting the persons I wished to see, to the landlord, who answered them in a laconic manner, adding dryly, "That, previous to my proceeding any where, I must accompany him to the police office." Without making any remark on his change of conduct, which probably proceeded from a suspicion of the real state of my

* The youngest of these gentlemen, being implicated in the late plot, was sentenced to death, but, according to public rumour, was fortunate enough to escape to Scotland.

purse, I went with him to that office, where the whole business consisted in my being confronted with the information received from the frontiers respecting me. I was afterwards conducted by a servant of the hotel to the houses of some of the gentlemen for whom I had letters of introduction, and from whom I met with the kindest reception, a circumstance which encouraged me to form the most favourable omens.

The Emperor Alexander had just arrived from Germany, and the whole of the imperial family was to assemble at St. Petersburgh at the beginning of the year, to celebrate, as usual, the solemn festival of the Epiphany. Dr. Elisen, to show the esteem he entertained for the person who had recommended me to him, gave a splendid dinner, to which he invited several persons to whom he wished to introduce me, and who might be of service in forwarding my views, for the completion of which I was imprudently anxious.

Dazzled by the good reception I met with from the few persons I had seen, and urged on no less by my own impatience than by the advice of an individual, who was, perhaps, as ignorant as myself on these matters, a few days after my arrival at St. Petersburgh, I unseasonably presented myself at the palace of Prince Wolkonsky, major-general of the Emperor, who no sooner ascertained the object of my visit, than, abruptly interrupting me, he said, turning his back on me, "It cannot be; his imperial majesty does not receive any more foreigners into his service; there are already too many in his army." This did not admit of farther argument, and I stood for a moment in the utmost confusion, ignorant that, according to the etiquette of the court, I had deserved the treatment I experienced. On my return to the hotel, I was harassed by the most painful reflections, which I did not even dare to impart to any of my acquaintances, afraid of incurring their ridicule.

Baron Rall, who, notwithstanding his natural asperity of character, and his incessant mercantile occupations, had received me in the most hospitable manner, kindly presented me to his family, in whose society I endeavoured to forget the unpleasant check I had received; and learning, in my intercourse with them, that the baron had influential friends in Sweden, I tried to interest him in my favour, that I might obtain a passport, and proceed to Stockholm. To such ridiculous extremes is he driven, who has not sufficient experience of the great world.

As the balcony of my apartments was opposite the palace, I had a fine view of the gorgeous pomp displayed on the festival of the Epiphany, when more than forty thousand men of the imperial guard filed off before the palace. This festival consists in blessing the frozen waters of the majestic Neva; for which purpose a small wooden temple, richly ornamented, is erected in the middle of the river, to which the whole of the imperial family proceed on foot followed by their numerous court, and the choir of singers of the

Emperor's chapel,* whose harmonious canticles are by far more impressive and better calculated to inspire one with religious veneration than any other kind of music. On the procession arriving at the temple, the archimandrite blesses the waters, or rather the solid mass of ice which the Neva presents, and on which the greatest part of the troops and artillery perform their evolutions, returning afterwards to the palace in the same order of procession. If an unprejudiced spectator cannot help smiling at the superstition observed at this festival, his admiration must be equally excited at the imposing appearance of the imperial guard on this day. A more brilliant re-union of troops cannot be exhibited by any European nation.

As I had not yet presented myself to Count Romansow, nor to General Betancourt, who possessed greater influence than any of the gentlemen I had hitherto seen, I resolved to visit them. The latter received me with all the cordiality of a true countryman, and in a very different manner from what I had been led to expect by persons who were not friendly to him. This general, who had been acquainted with my father at Madrid previous to his banishment in 1807, caused by the political misrule of Godoy, and whilst he held the post of intendant of a province, was much amused with my account of the reception I had met with from Prince Wolkonsky. Unwilling to raise false expectations, he did not hold out hopes that might have caused me any disappointment, although from the first he entertained the intention of exerting his influence in my favour, as will be seen hereafter. General Betancourt was greatly distinguished by the Emperor for his talents, and for the probity of his character. His merits, however, did not fail to excite the jealousy and animosity of some of the envious courtiers, who, though powerful and influential, could never prevail on the Emperor to deprive him of the high post he so deservedly filled.

Having been advised by Betancourt to lose no time in visiting the Count of Romansow, who was a friend of his, I hastened to his house, where, on arriving in one of the anterooms, I took off my great coat, to the extreme surprise of the numerous servants who filled the hall, and who seemed to entertain so much contempt for my foreign dress, that I found the greatest difficulty in prevailing on them to announce me. At last I was conducted to a large saloon, and, after waiting a long time, saw a very old man enter, accompanied by another person, who remained standing the whole time of my visit. The count, whose manners were those of a courtier, invited me to a seat, and taking another near me, held a small silver trumpet to his ear, and listened attentively to my short discourse; when he replied, sometimes in a very low tone of voice, and some-

* The Greek ritual does not permit instrumental music in the temples of those who profess that religion.

times hollowing, accompanying his speech with a number of grimaces; put my letter in his pocket without reading it; made me a number of fine promises; and here began and ended all the favours I ever received from this singular personage, who probably thought no more of me.

The number of emigrant Spanish officers in the service of Russia amounted only to three, and these were employed in the interior of the empire, in the department under the direction of Betancourt, through whose influence they had some time since gained admission; but when I beheld, in the streets of St. Petersburgh, officers similarly employed, and occupied in directing the public works, as if they were masons, I felt so great a repugnance for such occupations, whatever might be their pecuniary advantages, that I should have preferred the most subaltern situation in the army. This opinion is shared by most of the Russian officers, who are, perhaps, the most disinterested of their class in Europe.

After spending two weeks in the expensive lodging which I was compelled to accept in the hotel of Europe, the landlord informed me that he expected a foreigner of importance, for whom he wished to prepare that apartment, and he begged me to remove to one adjoining it, which was better suited to my circumstances. I gladly acceded to his wishes, without having the remotest idea of whom my neighbour was to be.

The day after my removal, I heard much noise in the saloon, where there was a door communicating with my room, and to my surprise, very distinctly heard my native language spoken by the new comers. Whilst I was still in my room, an acquaintance of mine, who occasionally came to see me, ignorant of my having changed my apartments, entered my former ones as usual, and soon discovered his mistake. From him I learned that my neighbour was no other than the Spanish minister plenipotentiary, Zea Bermudez, with his secretaries. I own that I was not much pleased with this news, and my first impulse was to leave the hotel; but the fear of not being able to meet the landlord's bill made me abandon this resolution. Fortunately my visiter, being acquainted with the master of the hotel, arranged matters, so that I soon obtained a more distant apartment.

The good understanding existing between Zea Bermudez and General Betancourt's family, in which I experienced as much kindness and affection as if I had been a member of it, prevented my visiting them so frequently as I had been in the habit of doing, lest I might be the cause of some disagreement between them. By degrees, however, they were entirely suspended for the present; so that my principal care now was to avoid the snares, which I was almost certain would be laid for me by the agent of a government which had been the cause of all my disasters.

Baron Rall had three sons, with whom I was in habits of inti-

macy, and who, feeling a lively interest for my destiny, contrived an interview between myself and an aide-de-camp of the Emperor, a friend of theirs, whom they invited to breakfast at their house. On this occasion my past misfortunes formed the principal topic of conversation. The aid-de-camp, who was the young prince, Andrew Galitzin, soon evinced for me the warmest interest, and a desire to be useful to me; but unfortunately he had even less experience and circumspection than myself, qualities indispensable for those who, living under the gilded roofs of a palace, seek the favour of a monarch. His good intentions, however, were prized by me as highly as they deserved, and the more so as I was convinced how difficult it is, even in such a numerous court as that of St. Petersburgh, to meet with men who should feel interested for one who had suffered for political opinions, so rarely listened to by courtiers. If, therefore, I did not find in Prince Galitzin that support which he so sincerely promised, or the success which he so confidently anticipated, I had in him an active agent nearer the source of favour than was the old and serviceable Elisen.

On the other hand, the amiable family of Galitzin, which is one of the noblest of the empire, by extending the circle of my acquaintance, inspired me with hopes of obtaining, through the influence of the young prince, the object of my wishes. There were, besides, a multitude of circumstances which enhanced this valuable acquisition; but the detail of which would swell this narrative too much, though it would prove the well founded repugnance of the Russians to the prosperity of foreigners.

Several other friends, all military men, to whom I had been gradually introduced, kindly offered to assist me in obtaining my suit from the Emperor. The generous conduct I experienced from these gentlemen, whom I was fortunate enough to inspire with a degree of confidence which rarely falls to the lot of an adventurer in any country, induces me to speak in warm terms of a people so little known, and whose national character has been so much misrepresented by authors, who, it is evident, have never been admitted into the private circle of a Russian family. Were I not afraid of wounding the modesty of a number of persons of note, who loaded me with favours and marks of friendship, I should find the greatest pleasure in detailing the numberless benefits conferred on me with the utmost delicacy, from the first moment of my arrival at St. Petersburgh.

The first care of my friends, who suspected the real state of my circumstances, was to disencumber me from the debt I had contracted in the hotel, where I had been living six weeks. Count M..... came one day into my room, and told me that his friend Mr. Skaratin, whom I scarcely knew, being on the point of setting off for his estate beyond Moscow, where his family then resided, offered me an apartment in his mansion at St. Petersburgh, and the necessary attendance. To refuse such an offer as this in my present

situation would have been absurd; I therefore accepted it with pleasure, and on the following day removed to the house of Mr. Skaratin, where his steward presented me the serf destined for my service, whom I found equally faithful and attentive. Thus, fifty days after my arrival at St. Petersburgh, I was furnished with magnificent apartments in a house abounding with every comfort, with servants always at my call, free access to the table and society of more than thirty families of distinction, and the equipages of some of my friends at my entire disposal. Such unbounded hospitality needs no comment.

A few days after my change of residence, General Betancourt sent for me, and informed me that, having just seen the Emperor, and related to him the reception given me by his major-general, he advised me to address a petition to his majesty, through the medium of some respectable individual, who should privately deliver it to him; and that, as he himself was in the habit of transacting business twice a month with the Emperor, he would take a fit opportunity of again mentioning the object of my endeavours. He then gave me salutary advice, recommending me to avoid a rencontre with Zea Bermudez, of whose intentions he knew something, but which he would always try to frustrate. He approved the moderation with which I usually spoke of my former sufferings, and advised me to continue increasing the number of my acquaintances in the higher circles, without whose influence it is very difficult to obtain any favours, either at the court of Russia or elsewhere.

Dining one day at Count M . . . . . 's, with several of his friends, Prince Galitzin, suddenly entering, threw his arms around my neck, and said, with his natural heedlessness, before the whole company, "I congratulate you upon your good fortune; your affair is concluded." These words, uttered by an aid-de-camp of the Emperor, who was that day on duty near his person, and who came expressly from the palace to bring me this agreeable intelligence, seemed to place the matter beyond a doubt, and made me entirely forget that I had not yet written the petition to have obtained any favour from a monarch, perhaps the most circumspect and prudent of our age; whilst most of those friends present, placing implicit confidence in Galitzin's words, and without inquiring what post I had obtained, congratulated me on my success, and repeatedly toasted me. Meantime Prince Galitzin, who could not long be absent from the palace, withdrew, leaving us as much in the dark as when we first met.

On the following day, before proceeding to General Betancourt's to acquaint him with this news, I called on Prince Galitzin, who had just returned from the palace, and who, on my asking him the details of this affair, answered, that he had spoken at length with the Emperor respecting me, and that his majesty had graciously replied that "he had heard of me, and the affair was already set-

tled;" but that he had since ascertained that the affair to which the Emperor alluded had reference to his conversation with Betancourt. Whilst I was regretting my disappointment, Mr. S. L . . ., a friend of the Count M . . . . ., entered. This gentleman, to whom I was then introduced, soon became the best and most constant friend I found at St. Petersburgh; the vicissitudes which I have since experienced never having been able to damp the unabated ardour of his friendship.

The opportunity for having my petition presented to the Emperor at length arrived; but I was greatly puzzled how to express myself in such a manner as not to belie my sentiments, and yet say nothing that might be considered as offensive by the autocrat. In this dilemma, one of the personages who was in constant attendance at the palace, and who was well acquainted with the Emperor's opinions, undertook the task of writing it for me. I shall here insert the first lines of the petition, that the reader may see the tolerance with which the chief (as he may be justly called) of the affairs of Europe received, at this period, opinions which are deemed by other sovereigns as treasonable.

"SIRE,

After experiencing, during five months, the most horrible treatment in the dungeons of the Inquisition from a cruel and fanatical faction, I had the good fortune to escape, through the intervention of divine Providence. Compelled to fly from my native country, and having lost all, except my honour and the esteem of my countrymen, protectors, and benefactors, who procured me the means not only of evading the strict searches of my persecutors, but of taking sanctuary at the foot of your majesty's imperial throne, I humbly entreat your Majesty's protection."

After a slight sketch of my military career, the petition terminated with begging his majesty to grant me an honourable place in the ranks of his army, in which it was my wish to serve until other events might one day permit my return to my country.

I placed this petition in the hands of a privy counsellor of the Emperor, charged with receiving all the expositions addressed to his majesty, and there it remained as if it had sunk to the bottom of a well.

CHAPTER XXII.

Description of St. Petersburgh—Palaces—Military parade—The square of Isaac—Statue of Peter the Great—Shops—Imperial Bank—Church and convent of St. Alexander Newsky—The choir in the Greek church-service—Discipline of the military at St. Petersburgh—Trophies taken in Napoleon's retreat from Russia—Waxen image of Peter the Great—Manners and customs—Military genius—The Carnival—The Russian mountains; games on the ice so denominated—Description of this pastime—Palace of Tzarskoiceselo—Hussars of the guard—Improvement in the Russian army—Triumphal arch—Napoleon and Alexander—Remarkable religious festivals—Cathedral of our Lady of Kasan—Offerings of eggs—Return of spring—Visit to Cronstadt—Description of this port, and of the navy—Interesting anecdote.

While my affair remains dormant in the hands of the Emperor, I will make a few observations on the capital and its inhabitants.

St. Petersburgh is embellished with a multitude of palaces. The first of these built by Peter the Great, is situated in a public promenade, called the summer garden, one of its most remarkable objects, by its exquisite taste and workmanship, being the immense grating on the side of the Neva. An anecdote is related of an Englishman, who, having left England to visit this capital, had no sooner arrived before this palace, and admired the grating for a considerable time, than he immediately re-embarked to return home, saying that it was useless to go to farther expense by remaining any time there, as it was impossible he could see any thing more beautiful.

The palace, in which the imperial family resided during my stay here, is called the *winter palace*, and is on a line with the splendid building of the Admiralty. It has a quadrangular form, and is richly ornamented, the principal façade looking towards the Place d'Armes, and the other on the Neva. It communicates with a smaller palace, called the Hermitage, by means of a gallery constructed over an archway, through which the carriages pass. Here is seen a rich collection of pictures, among which are the portraits of Prince Eugene Beauharnais and the Duke of Wellington. There is also a collection of fine engravings, and many rare and precious objects. The theatre of the court is in the Hermitage.

There are other palaces belonging to the imperial family, but which are not inhabited, as the Marble palace, and that of Michael, where the Emperor Paul I., father of the reigning monarch, met a tragic end. Its appearance strikes one as singular in the present time, owing to the drawbridges, moats, and other hostile forms, which it still preserves, and which forcibly reminds one of the Bastille. The Exchange is a very elegant and spacious building, situated near the Neva

There is in the square of the palace a very large saloon, destined for the daily parade during the winter months, the complicated structure of its immense roof being an object of general admiration, as the whole battalion on duty manœuvres in this saloon with ease, under the orders of the Emperor, and in the presence of his numerous staff. There is still a larger one at Moscow, which was constructed under the direction of Betancourt. As the military etiquette of Russia requires that there should be a daily parade, the saloons are indispensable to shelter the soldiery from the rigour of the season.

At the other extremity of the Admiralty is the square of Isaac, which is symmetrically placed with that of the palace. The beautiful church from which it takes its name, one side of the Admiralty, the façade of the senate-house, and the commencement of the bridge of boats, form the square, in the middle of which rises, on a rock of granite, an equestrian statue in bronze of Peter the Great, executed in the reign of Catherine II. by a French artist, who by this work has established his claims to immortality.

The Russian shops constitute a continuation of porticos in the form of a trapezium. It was built by a company of Russian merchants, and no foreigner is ever allowed to carry on any kind of business there. Near this edifice is the imperial bank, which was built exclusively for this object upon an excellent plan, much admired for its simplicity. On the opposite side, not far from the bank, is the palace of the Knights of Malta, the chapel of which is tastefully ornamented, the most distinguished catholic families contributing to its support by their liberal gifts.

The perspective, called Newsky, is a very wide and long street, which, commencing at the Admiralty, extends in a direct line as far as the celebrated convent of St. Alexander Newsky, a distance of three miles, intersected by three beautiful canals, which, during the summer months, facilitate the communication throughout the city. I attended a solemn festival, celebrated in the great church of this convent, and I must own that the magnificence of it surpassed even that displayed in the principal cathedrals of Spain. But what is particularly pleasing to a foreigner at these festivals is the choir of singers, always extremely select. Often in my moments of melancholy have I found this recreation my best resource.

The barracks of the infantry of the imperial guard are almost all in the best quarters of the town, and those of the few cavalry corps stationed in the capital possess all the conveniences that can possibly be wanted for its internal regulations, and military instruction and exercises.

The extensive building of the staff office, situated in the Place d'Armes, and which has since been increased by adding to it the whole of the Hotel of Europe, which was contiguous to it, contains the different departments or sections which the general direction of

the military affairs embraces, as well as a very well chosen library of elementary works on the military art.

Throughout the town are stationed a number of corps-de-gardes, the soldiers of which are obliged to do the honours to every officer according to his rank; and, as it is not permitted to any of the latter to go without his uniform and decorations in any part of the empire, the sentries are in a continual movement, and have never time for certain liberties which those of other countries often indulge in, contrary to the rules of discipline. Besides the Emperor Alexander was in the daily habit of walking out alone in the uniform of a general, and would suddenly present himself where he was least expected, a circumstance which kept the soldiers constantly on their guard.

He likewise assisted every day at the parade without ever wearing a great coat, whatever might be the severity of the weather, his example being strictly followed by all the general officers, who were under the obligation of attending the parade, after which he gave audience in the saloon of the standards of the guard.

In the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, which is in the citadel, are seen the trophies of the French army, taken in their retreat from Moscow, some marshals' batons, and a great number of Turkish standards, many of which are stained with the blood of those from whose hands they were wrested. The state prison is in the citadel, as are also the treasures of the crown.

The saloons of the academy of sciences contain an infinite number of curiosities in animals, &c. and in costumes of the different nations of Asia and America. In a separate cabinet is seen in wax the statue of Peter I. in the same costume he wore on the day of his marriage with Catherine I. It is said to be a very strong likeness, and is most exquisitely finished.

In Russia, whoever is once received in the house of a nobleman will always find a seat at his table. Nothing appears more singular throughout the empire than a bachelor, whether a native or a foreigner, living in retirement. There, all live either for society or war, and the youth show themselves as polite in the saloon as brave in the field.

The carnival in Russia is spent in games peculiar to that country, the chief of which is sliding down the ice or Russian mountains. These rise between forty and fifty feet, and are fifteen or twenty feet wide, the scaffolding with which they are formed being placed in the middle of an extensive plain of ice, that the sledges on their descent may find ample room where to spend the velocity of their motion. The steepness and smoothness of the mountain, cause the sledges to descend at such a rapid rate, that for a long time after they are seen sliding on the plain of ice. It is calculated that a pistol ball fired from the mountain only gains one second in every hour on the rapid motion of the sledge. When this stops, either by

diself or by means of the hands, which serve for a helm and for oars, the gentleman slings it on his back, as he might his skates, and offering his arm to the lady who has accompanied him, conducts her to the steps behind the mountain, on ascending which they repeat their amusement.

Count M***** caused one of these mountains to be erected in his garden during the carnival. The assemblage of people, as is always the case, was very numerous, and they all successfully performed their descent. At length my turn came; but as it was not likely that a native of Cadiz could show much dexterity in this exercise, I was obliged to content myself with the part of clown in the piece, and ran a race with my sledge. Fortunately, presaging what befell me, I had taken the precaution not to invite any of the fair spectators to accompany me, as is the etiquette on these occasions.*

These private amusements, though attended by very select company, cannot be compared to the gay and animated scene presented on the Neva, which at this time is frozen from four to five feet thick. The inhabitants of both sexes hold here their games and sports. The shops are all shut and deserted during the period that these amusements last, which is called by the Russians the meat and butter week, because these and other provisions are rigorously forbidden in Lent by the Greek church, and the whole population flocks towards the Neva, where handsome sledges and beautiful horses are seen on all sides. Rope-dancers, booths, and tents, in which drink and provisions of every description are sold, form a part of this popular encampment. In the midst of these groupes, rise, in the form of pyramids, the Russian mountains, on whose steep sides is seen the incessant motion of people darting down in succession,† and adding to the pleasing confusion that prevails there.

In one of my sledge excursions with Dr. Elisen, I went to Tzarskoïeselo, an imperial summer seat, where the regiment of the hussars of the guard is stationed. Among the officers of this corps, with whom I associated most during my residence at the capital, was the young Popoff, to whom I am indebted for many civilities, and whose father, a senator, was the intimate friend of Potemkin, the celebrated minister of Catharine II. The magnificence displayed by this body of hussars prevents any but youths of wealthy families from entering this corps, their pay being scarcely sufficient to defray the salaries of their servants. When one reflects on the condition in which the Russian army was but a few years ago, and sees its present state,

* At balls the gentlemen are invited by the ladies to dance, but at these amusements the contrary is the case. Both the lady and the gentleman sit in the sledge in the Asiatic manner, with their legs crossed, the lady in front, and the gentleman giving with his hands any direction he pleases to the sledge, which is placed on two skates in order to increase its velocity.

† Every descent from the mountain costs two copper pieces, called *kopeïka*, which are equivalent to two farthings, and which, of course, are no great obstacle to the repetition of this pastime.

one cannot help admiring the progress which has since taken place, and which it entirely owes to the late campaigns. This improvement is observable even in the most trifling details of its military regulations.

At one of the entrances of Tzarskoïeselo, is a triumphal arch in bronze of exquisite taste, erected by the Russian senate to the Emperor Alexander, in honour of his campaign in France, and dedicated by him to his army. This flattering homage appears by an inscription in gold letters, on the cornice, in Russian on one side, and French on the other, which says, "To my dear companions in arms." The Emperor, on his return from the French campaign, caused his imperial guard to pass under it. Whilst I was admiring this arch, an old gentleman, to whom I had remarked "what a splendid sight such fine troops must on that day have offered," said to me, "Those sights may be considered as mere baubles. The whole of Europe would now be happy, had the French and the Russian emperors exchanged at Tilsit, in 1807, their crowns. This may appear a ridiculous idea; but many crowns must yet be lost and won on the borders of the Niemen. Alexander, with his handsome person, moderation, politeness, and, in a word, with his studied and subtle attractions, would have recalled to France its Henry IV., whilst we, with our modern Machiavel, would have hastened towards the Danube and covered with our armies the Byzantine soil. The great Greek confederacy, the only that can save Russia, would have been realized to the benefit of universal civilization. Asia, demanding conquests from an enlightened foe, presented to the offspring of the French revolution a wider field wherein to spend the rest of his military career, and benefit the world more effectually."

I also visited another imperial summer seat, called Petroff, situated at a short distance from St. Petersburgh, in a different direction from that of Tzarskoïeselo, where I saw the new paper manufactory, under the direction of an excellent English mechanic, much esteemed by the Emperor. He showed us some very large sheets of paper, manufactured here, and which are used in the topographical labours and charts of the staff. At the back of the palace is a large artificial cascade, placed on an elevated spot, and facing the Neva, which empties itself here into the gulf of Cronstadt. I understand that, on a particular day in summer, the waters are made to play over the cascade, which, being lighted with an infinite number of reflectors, enclosed in crystal cases to preserve them from the damp, presents a most brilliant and variegated appearance, when its illuminated waters are seen from the Neva.

The Russians celebrate the resurrection at midnight. This festival is announced precisely at twelve by salutes from the citadel, at which moment the cry of "He has risen!" bursts from the mouth of every person, who, from the monarch to the humblest serf, embrace each other in token of forgiveness of reciprocal offences.

Every member of the court, either civil or military, must be in the presence of the Emperor and Empress at the time when the cannon fires the signal, to participate in the embraces and felicitations caused by that event.

Desirous of seeing the celebration of this festival in the Greek cathedral of our Lady of Kasan, where I was told a numerous concourse of people were to be met, I hastened thither, and thanks to the elbowing which I had learned in London, I succeeded in reaching the nave of the church a few minutes before the cannon fired The sepulchre was placed in the front of the tabernacle, and the popes, or priests, dressed in their sacerdotal robes, formed a procession similar to that of the catholics before the resurrection, the church being magnificently illuminated. I was pressed on all sides by persons of both sexes, for in the Greek churches every body without distinction, and even the monarch himself, must remain standing; but no sooner did the canticles, the bells, and the cannon announce the *denoûement* of this religious assembly, than I thought myself transported to the marriage of Canaan. Mutual felicitations were exchanged, in which I myself participated, as well as of the supper which the spectators had carried with them, consisting of pastry and cold meats, which they ate on the spot, in proof of the severe abstinence observed by them during the forty preceding days.

The whole of the capital is at this time illuminated, and on the following morning the etiquette requires that the ladies should be presented with what is called an Easter egg, ornamented with ribands and bows, in token of felicitation for the resurrection. The lower class offer real eggs, more or less painted; and the middle class porcelain ones, of which a great number is sold during these days, some of them at a very high price. When a lady receives the present, she offers her hand to the gentleman, who kisses it; and then bending forward, she applies her lips to his cheeks, a custom not at all indifferent to a man who is not habituated to this kind of salute.

The rigours of winter are felt here long after Easter; but the scene changes so suddenly in the month of May, that in less than a fortnight the Neva becomes navigable, the snow disappears from the fields, and the trees soon reassume their green clothing; the country-houses are immediately inhabited and enlivened by the rural fetes, in which the Russians delight; the days lengthen as rapidly as the winter nights seemed endless; in fine, whether it be the strong contrast, or the endeavours of the Russians to profit of the few fine months that their climate allows, it is certain that in no country of Europe does the spring appear more smiling than in this. The first merchant vessels which enter the Neva are loaded with oranges and other fruits, the produce of warmer climates, of which there is a great consumption at St. Petersburgh, many families

habit of going to Wassili-Ostroff, where there are
ively destined to the sale of these articles.
Neva became navigable, Count M. . . . . and his friend,
Mr. S—. L—. invited me to a party to Cronstadt, in a steam-boat.
In the dock-yard of this port, we saw several skeletons of ships;
say skeletons, because every thing necessary for their completion
s there collected, except good sailors. The crew of a Russian
-of-war offers as ridiculous an assemblage as a battalion, a
squadron, or a train of artillery in North America. At the time we
were at Cronstadt, they were fitting out a frigate, destined for the
coasts of England and France, which was to transport there an un-
fortunate sister of Prince Galitzin, who was then with us. We saw
the carpenters busily at work in preparing the cabin for her, and
rendering it as commodious as possible. This young lady, who had
married a young Russian of a very distinguished family, had the in-
discretion to receive a Jesuit at her house, and such was the fatal
ascendancy which that priest gained over her mind, that it became
much impaired and troubled with a thousand confused ideas on re-
ligion. Her incautious husband, disregarding the good advice given
him by some well-intentioned friends, paid no attention to this spi-
ritual intercourse, till at length the lady lost her reason, and fell a
prey to the most ungovernable fanaticism, to the great affliction of
all her friends. The Emperor, who began already to be displeased
with the improper conduct of the Jesuits, whom he had hitherto to-
lerated in Russia, issued, about a year after, his well-known decree,
by which they were expelled from the empire; and having always
felt a great attachment for the family of this interesting victim, he
ordered that a frigate should convey her to foreign countries, her
physicians being of opinion that she might derive much benefit from
the new scenes she would witness, and from the society she would
frequent during her residence there.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Hostility of the Spanish minister, Zea Bermudez, to the author—Intimation given by Count Nesselrode—Interview with Zea Bermudez—General Yermolow—The author gains his suit with the Emperor—Saloon of models of the Russian uniforms—Liberality of the author's friends—Military evolutions—Ceremonies observed at a marriage—The author quits St. Petersburgh to join the army of Georgia—Journey to Moscow with Mamonoff—Palace of Tzarskoieselo.

Two months had now elapsed since I had delivered my petition to the Emperor, when General Betancourt informed me that the cause of this delay might be traced to the Spanish minister plenipotentiary, who was greatly incensed against me for not having presented myself to him, especially as I had been lodging in the same hotel where he resided, and knowing that he frequented some of the houses where I visited. This was to me incomprehensible; for, all things considered, it would have been preposterous that, in my situation, I should have offered my homage to the representative of a government by which I was persecuted; and, as I had never been acquainted with him in Spain, he could have no claims to any personal consideration. The general urged that it was prudent I should take some steps to conciliate the Spanish minister, as his hostility could not fail to be highly prejudicial to the accomplishment of my plans, which he had hitherto endeavoured to thwart. But I succeeded, by such arguments as the above, in convincing him that Zea Bermudez had no reason to be offended at my conduct, as he could not find fault with me even in a political point of view, General Betancourt himself having often been a witness to the moderation with which I expressed myself respecting the scandalous proceedings of the Spanish government at this epoch.

A few days after this, I received a note from Count Nesselrode, appointing an interview with his excellence, who on my repairing thither said, after some prefatory observations, that his majesty could not admit me into his service without failing in those attentions that were owing to the representative of an allied monarch; that the Spanish minister, having learned that his majesty was disposed to favour me, had addressed a note to the ministry, in which he expressed his surprise that my petition should be listened to; and that, if his majesty acceded to it, he should consider it as an affront offered to his sovereign. Lastly, the count said that if I did not remove these difficulties, the Emperor was resolved not to grant the favour I desired at his hands. I made to his excellency nearly the same observations I had made to General Betancourt; but as in similar cases the best arguments can be of little avail, the count

expressed his regret that it was not in his power to remove the obstacle; but that he should be glad to hear of any favourable explanation taking place between Zea Bermudez and myself, in which case I might again call upon him without waiting a farther invitation.

Having left the count, I hastened to General Betancourt, whom I informed of what had just passed. On hearing it, he immediately ordered his carriage, and leaving the affairs in which he was engaged, proceeded to visit the Spanish minister, the expression of his countenance convincing me that the arguments I had urged had not been thrown away upon him. Indeed, considering his influence and situation, entirely independent of Spain, and the good understanding existing between him and the former, I doubted not but it would be easy for him to explain the matter unreservedly to Zea Bermudez.

On the evening of this day I was invited to a party, at which to my great surprise I met the Spanish minister; the host and some of his friends having planned this to amuse themselves at our expense, by seeing that we took no notice of each other. Had I known that this joke had been previously concerted, I certainly would have waved all considerations, and shown Bermudez civilities which no compulsion would ever have extorted from me. "Spanish pride," observed an elderly gentleman with whom I was acquainted, tapping his snuff-box, and whispering in my ear with an air of raillery, "my dear friend, this in Russia is a ridiculous pantomime. The men laugh at it, and the ladies yawn." I was somewhat embarrassed when I remarked in several of the countenances of the persons present a confirmation of what the old man had expressed in rather plain terms; and I took the first opportunity of withdrawing, leaving him, whom my host called my adversary, master of the field.

Early on the following morning General Betancourt sent for me, and addressed me thus; "My dear sir, you must keep the promise I gave yesterday. I saw the Spanish minister, and his complaint against you is, that you have treated him with so much reserve and contempt, that notwithstanding your having resided in the same house with him, and sometimes met him, you have never shown him the least civility. In the situation in which you are, such conduct is not the most prudent. You ought to go and see him: explain matters frankly to him, and try to excite his generosity—every thing else is unseasonable and absurd."

When he ended his to me unpleasant admonition, I repeated, with more vehemence than before, how repugnant it was to me to ask any kind of intervention from a person who, from his public character, represented a government which was the cause of all my calamities; adding, in the most softened terms, that I had hoped for a better result from his friendly interference. "You have not a

moment to lose," he said with some impatience. "The Spanish minister has owned to me that he has actually taken some steps against you." I observed to him how disgraceful it was to see the representative of Spain persecuting an unfortunate Spaniard to the very boundaries of Europe. He owned that he was wrong. "In fine let us talk no more about it; I am not at liberty to tell every thing. You are in a situation that requires the utmost prudence; you must see him. I am anxious to know the result of your visit, for I take as lively an interest in your affairs as in my own; but be as discreet as circumstances require."

Repugnant as this step was to me, I promised him I would go the next day to see the Spanish minister, as I stood in need of this time to prepare myself for a conference which I expected would be as disagreeable to the latter as to myself. The greatest part of my friends with whom I was in habits of intimacy had no direct influence in the ministry; but they had all the necessary tact and experience to advise me how best to act in this singular visit, when I should be called to give the last proof of moderation required of me in this country.

On the following day I went to the Hotel of Europe, and presented myself to the Spanish minister, who, having desired those who were then with him to withdraw, politely invited me to be seated. He commenced with a long digression on affairs which had nothing to do with mine, his language being that of a repentant liberal, relating among other things his first steps in favour of the constitution, when in 1812 he came as an envoyé to the head-quarters of the Emperor to receive his sanction to that code, and afterwards introduced the topic in which I was most interested, saying in the most polite manner, that he should have been happy to have seen me before. "I am informed," he added, "that you have petitioned the Emperor to admit you into his service."

"Yes, sir; I have come to St. Petersburgh with no other view; but my adverse fortune pursues me even here, and hitherto I have not been able to succeed."

"But have you reflected well upon it?"

"I have most maturely."

"But you are fully aware that it is not at all common, or fitting, to see Spaniards enlist under foreign banners like the Swiss, now in one country, now in another, always wandering, and always adventurous."

"But, sir," I replied, "it is still a greater disgrace, particularly in the age we live in, to see so many of us suffering under the heavy and unmerited wrongs which have compelled us to become wanderers in foreign countries."

"Do not you think there is a means of conciliating every thing," he continued, interrupting me, "before you give more publicity, by the resolution you have taken, to the domestic troubles of our

country, which we are all obliged to conceal, that our national reputation may not suffer thereby ?"

"Sir, my conduct in this respect must be known even to yourself. I have always avoided speaking of the Spanish government, and if hitherto I have not paid you a visit, it is not because I wished to offer you an incivility, but because I was afraid that, had I done so, my attention might have been misconstrued into an insult."

"I am perfectly satisfied; but I am going to make you a proposal which I think you will approve of. Would you not like to return to Spain, assume your former rank in the army, and serve under the orders of Count Abisbal, who is to command the great expedition which is fitting out for South America? Once united to your companions in arms, the government will forget the past. I can positively answer for the favourable result of this proposal, if you accept of it. I will besides defray the expenses of your journey either by land or sea. I know that I can make you this offer. The king knows my conciliatory intentions; I am certain that his majesty will fully approve of them."

"Sir, your good intentions are not for me a sufficient guarantee. If I cannot enter the service of Russia, my situation will be painful indeed; but I will bear up with it, and never will I avail myself of such a proposal."

After many other plausible arguments from the minister, whether sincere or not I cannot say, I told him that I was aware of the steps which he had taken against me, and that my wish was exclusively to be admitted into the service of the Emperor. In taking leave of him, he said that in future he would act as became a gentleman. Such was the result of an interview, which lasted two long hours, and which I thought would have terminated in a manner equally unpleasant to both, and injurious to my interests.

I went to General Betancourt immediately after, as he had requested, and when he heard the substance of the interview, he congratulated me, and mentioned some other favourable circumstances relating to a conversation he had lately had with the Emperor respecting me, which he had till now thought proper to conceal. The family of the general, who had much esteem for the Spanish minister, and who felt no less interested in my destiny, manifested their joy at this favourable turn in my situation, in a manner which reminded me of my own family; for notwithstanding their living in the midst of a court which is not the best adapted for cherishing such sentiments, and notwithstanding their having left Spain a great many years ago, they still preserved the warmest attachment for every thing connected with their native country.*

* The daughters of General Betancourt embroidered, in the year 1812, the standards of a Spanish regiment, formed of the prisoners taken during Napoleon's campaign in Russia, and who were afterwards equipped by Alexander, and sent back to Spain, under the command of Colonel Don Alexandro O'Donnel, brother to Count

My friends, to whom I communicated the particulars of this interview, were of opinion that the result would be favourable, and that I ought to lose no time in presenting myself to Count Nesselrode; but believing that the Spanish minister might dislike my residence in the capital, and that if I obtained the favour I had solicited in some regiment stationed at St. Petersburgh, I should not be able to support the great expense to which officers are here subject, they all advised me to declare to the count, on the first interview, my wish to serve in the army of Georgia, the general-in-chief of which, Yermolow, had rendered himself an object of general admiration and esteem, not only to all the officers who had served under his orders, but to the people under his government.

Well convinced of the necessity of removing from the capital, and of serving under the orders of a general who would do justice to my good intentions, I no sooner learned from Count Nesselrode that the principal obstacle was set aside by the Spanish minister himself, than I manifested to his excellence my wish of being employed in Georgia.* I immediately perceived by his countenance that I had advanced a step towards my admission, and that my friends were right in advising me to make this declaration.

During some weeks my affair remained apparently dormant, until at length General Betancourt, who took the first opportunity of speaking to the Emperor about my petition, informed me that I would soon be relieved from my uncertainty, and that, had I not demanded to be employed in Georgia, I would not have obtained the object of my petition.

At length, on the anniversary of my flight from Madrid, I learned from Count M....., that my admission into the service of Russia was announced in the *prikaz*.† Immediately a friend of mine and myself hastened to the printing-office of the staff, where my companion read to me the following paragraph:

"His Majesty the emperor has been pleased, in the sitting of May 16th, 1819, held at St. Petersburgh, to issue the following order. Nomination to the service—for the cavalry. The lieutenant-colonel of the Spanish army, Van Halen, admitted into the rank of major in the regiment of dragoons of Nijegorode.

(Signed) Prince Wolkonsky,
Chief of the Staff."

On the following day I was presented to the sub-chief of the staff, Mr. Mentchikoff, with whom I conversed for some time, and who approved the election I had made of serving under the orders of

Abiabal. It was called the Imperial Alexander, and has distinguished itself in the defence of the national cause till after the disasters of 1823.

* The Russian courtiers call Georgia the *Warm Siberia*, because those officers, whose political notions are thought too liberal, are sent to that country. They say that this *sobriquet* was first applied by Alexander himself.

† A military official gazette, published daily at St. Petersburgh.

Yermolow, promising to give me good recommendations on my departure.

There is at St. Petersburgh a place called the *Saloon of Models*, which contains the equipments and accoutrements of every regiment, both cavalry and infantry, composing the imperial army. Every change, which takes place often under the direction of the Emperor himself, begins with the model, which is deposited in the saloon, whilst another perfectly similar is sent to its respective regiment. Thus the most scrupulous uniformity is observed both in the fashion and the colours. The tailors and other artisans repair to the saloon for their instructions, and any officer may completely equip himself at St. Petersburgh, though his regiment be on the frontiers of China.

As the etiquette required that I should immediately assume my uniform, that I might present myself to the military authorities, I visited the saloon to give orders for my complete equipment; but my friends, rejoiced at my good fortune, had been beforehand with me, and were secretly employed in providing everything I could stand in need of; so that, before I had given any orders, they presented to me all that I could possibly desire, and even assisted me in putting on my uniform, after which they conducted me to a splendid banquet. Here I was surrounded by most of my friends, who had all assembled to celebrate my honourable admission into the Russian service. This was for me a truly memorable day. Neither jealousy nor dissimulation disturbed these happy moments: sincerity, deep-felt interest, and esteem for me, were the only feelings evinced, and, I am sure, entertained by these kind and generous friends.

Owing to the reciprocal aversion existing between the mercantile and military classes in Russia, I no sooner assumed my uniform than, to my regret, I was obliged to renounce the society of almost all the merchants whose houses I had frequented, and to whom I was indebted for many civilities, while my intercourse with a certain class of people naturally became more frequent and friendly.

As an officer of the Russian army, it was incumbent on me to present myself to the Emperor; but owing to the circumstance of his Majesty having, according to custom, left the capital with his family for his summer palace of Tzarskoïeselo, which is twenty wersts from the capital, and the daily audience* having ceased, the day of my departure approached, without my having been able personally to testify to his Majesty my deep gratitude. Anxious to do this, I was advised by my friends to attend to the fields of instruction of the imperial guard at Tzarskoïeselo as any other officer, curious to see the feigned battles which were occasionally given there in the month of June. I chanced to go one day when a ludicrous occurrence took place, which excited the laughter of the spectators.

* Military audiences, whether before the Emperor or his generals, always take place at the time of the parade: and once the *summer-camp* established, the daily parade ceases.

One of the columns of attack, which, on changing its direction to reinforce the centre of the line, was to take at the point of the bayonet a village which was supposed to be the pivot of the operations of the enemy, had scarcely reached the required distance to commence the intended charge, when they saw on the side of the village some captains of merchant vessels, and several English clerks, most of them on foot, and the rest badly mounted, who, far from knowing the importance attached to that point, had chosen it to be better able to see the manœuvres. On seeing that motley group, the young officers of the guards, who commanded the charge, took it into their heads to accelerate their pace, and no sooner was this observed by the former, than they all dispersed over the field, their long coats floating in the wind, and with no other defensive weapons than their telescopes. The emperor, who saw this farce, and remarked that it afforded no pleasure to the English ambassador, gave immediate orders to have an end put to it.

My extreme anxiety to express my gratitude to his majesty remained unsatiated, and I was the more sorry for it, as it was my intention, should the Emperor have touched on the affairs of Spain, to have described them as they really stood; for though I have not the presumption to believe that I could have succeeded in giving a new bias to his policy, it was always a great step gained that he should be correctly informed of the real state of my unhappy country, a zeal which his majesty could not attribute to motives of personal interest, since the favour he had just conferred upon me had already gratified such expectations.

One day that I conversed on this subject with the same elderly gentleman I have already mentioned, he said to rectify me in my opinion, "If the Emperor had felt any interest for you, he would have addressed himself to you, and, according to his custom, questioned you. He has received you into his service solely to put an end to the importunities of those who openly protect you, as well as to please general Betancourt, whom he so greatly favours. I know positively that Nesselrode has been several times with Betancourt, before his majesty adopted this determination, to see if it could be dispensed with; but those who have advised you to ask to be employed in the army of Yermolow, knew very well that it was only by such means you could succeed in your object; for believe me, my dear friend, whatever opinion the Emperor may have been made to entertain respecting your political sufferings, it is enough that you have the reputation of a patriot to be received by him only to be sent to the *warm Siberia*. Betancourt wished that you should remain here, that he might continue his protection to you; but he has found insurmountable obstacles on the part of the Emperor. I know this through a good channel, and that general has been obliged to remain content with seeing you become a Caucasian. But every thing has its compensation. You are going to serve under the

orders of one of our first generals. You will admire him, and learn much from him, should you be employed near his person. I know well the character of Alexis Petrowitch (Yermolow), and your situation, zeal, and activity, will excite his interest for you. You see that my opinion does not coincide with that of your protector Betancourt. At St. Petersburgh they would have made a smart parade officer of you; but Yermolow makes good soldiers. You love your country too much to be considered by us in the light of the many foreign mercenaries who are now in the service of Russia, and whose pretensions to knowledge, which for above a century we have too dearly paid for, renders them always intolerable."

I could relate a number of anecdotes which characterize this singular man, with whom I was on terms of intimacy, more on account of his eccentric character than for any other reason, as he never approved any of my steps, nor felt the least interest for any of my friends. Though a Russian, and a military man, he disliked every thing connected with the army. He had seen and read much, and there were few things that could surprise him. He knew a number of anecdotes of the court, each more singular than the other; and I received from him a present of an important manuscript, which, greatly to my regret, I was obliged to burn on leaving Russia, and which contained many interesting circumstances relating to the latter days of Paul I., to the wily conduct observed by the chief of the conspiracy, and to the assassination.

One day that I met him in his carriage, he invited me to go and see a ceremony which he knew I had never witnessed in Russia. I told him I could not go, for I was much engaged. "Never mind," said he, "you must learn how to take things calmly. You must come with me, if it be but for a moment, to see a marriage according to the fashion of my countrymen." Having entered the carriage, we proceeded to a Greek church, where we found, in the middle of a circle formed by a numerous assemblage of relations, guests, and other spectators, the bride and bridegroom standing beside each other, before a priest, who had commenced the ceremony an hour previous to our arrival. During the whole of this time the bridesmaid and man were obliged to hold over the heads of the betrothed two heavy crowns, richly ornamented; but what principally amused me was the immobility of the latter, who seemed rather converted into statues, than animated by that ardent passion which accompanies this most important act of a man's private life. "Well," exclaimed my companion, "what do you think of it? Have I done right, after fifty years celibacy, not to allow myself to be crowned either in the Greek or Roman fashion. May God render this young couple happy, but I like not their legitimacy! You may now take my carriage, and proceed to your affairs, for I must remain here; and when you are among the Circassians, compare their marriage ceremonies with ours."

Convinced of the necessity of hastening my departure from St. Petersburgh to join my regiment in Georgia, I made the necessary preparations for a journey of five hundred post leagues. Previous to my departure, I had the pleasure of seeing at St. Petersburgh my excellent companion, Mr. Koch. He seemed much surprised at seeing me in my new costume; but I perceived, by his countenance more than by his expressions, that he had himself taken as active a part in contributing to my success, as it was possible for one at such a distance.

General Betancourt, whose conduct towards me had always been that of a father, had left the capital to inspect the works of the interior, which fell to his extensive department, two days before the prikaz announced the result of his efforts; consequently I was deprived of the pleasure of presenting myself to him in the Russian uniform, and again expressing my gratitude.

Being now furnished not only with letters of recommendation, but with a little Portuguese negro servant, who had been presented to me by Prince Boris Galitzin, and a carriage provided with every thing I could possibly want, and which my friends had lavished on me with their usual generosity, I prepared for my departure, presenting to one of them the only gift I had in my power to bestow, but which was the best adapted to remind him of my residence among them; namely, the trophy* I gained on the night of my escape from the Inquisition.

One of my most intimate friends, Mr. Mamonoff, an aid-de-camp of the major-general, who was charged with a topographical mission to the field where the battle of Smolensko was fought, being about to depart, invited me to accompany him as far as Moscow. I ordered my servant to precede us with the carriage, and on the 23d of July joined my new travelling companion, and met at Tzarskoïeselo all my friends, who were assembled at the house of Kruglikoff, captain of hussars of the guard, to bid me farewell. The weather was so beautiful, and the loneliness of this place, which the court had just left, so inviting, that our parting was prolonged till a late hour at night. We employed part of our time in visiting the palace, the gardens, and the great rotunda, which the Empress Catherine II. had caused to be built with the sole object of celebrating there certain private banquets, without being seen, heard, or observed by any of the attendants; the seats,

* Besides this memorial of my sufferings in the Inquisition, I had brought from Spain another equally interesting to me, which I placed in the hands of his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex at his especial request, and with the approbation of those from whom I had received it. It consisted of a large parchment, in which the most prominent circumstances of my sufferings and escape were sketched in an allegorical manner; with a brief explanation of those events, and the private signatures of those who had figured in them written in the centre. It had been given me by my friends of Madrid on the night I took my leave of them, as a token of their attachment and esteem for me.

plates, dishes, and every thing requisite for a sumptuous banquet being drawn up and down by machinery according to the signals of the bell belonging to each seat, and the demand of the particular dish wanted written in pencil. There is a saloon in this palace, where the numerous costumes of the different countries of the empire are collected. With respect to the truly Russian costume, I had admired it, three days before my departure from St. Petersburgh, on a young, beautiful, and accomplished lady, who, to oblige me, had put it on, and danced the national dance. It is not possible for me to describe it; but it is without contradiction one of the finest of any country in Europe. There is besides a cabinet containing a multitude of relievos and works in amber. This is all, either in this or any other of the imperial palaces, that will be likely to engage the attention of those who have once seen the interior magnificence of royal palaces in Spain.

In the gardens of Tzarskoïeselo there is, among other curious things, the tomb of Zemire, a favourite little dog of Catherine the Great, on which an epitaph written by Count Ségur is inscribed.*

Previous to our final separation, we sat down to supper, which we enlivened by singing Spanish patriotic songs, that many of my friends had learned from me, and at midnight we all rose from table, and I bid adieu to men from whom I had experienced the most noble and hospitable conduct, the remembrance of which will never be erased from my mind.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Travelling between St. Petersburgh and Moscow—Military colonies—Grand canal—Woldai—Twer—The country described—First sight of Moscow—Agreeable stay at Moscow—Present appearance of the ancient capital—Statue of Kouzma Minin—Wladimir—General Betancourt at Nijnei Novgorod—Great building in which the fair of St. Macarieff is held—Internal commerce described—Steam-boats on the Wolga—Otto of roses—Tea brought over land from China—Merchants—Boukharee Tartars—Life of Napoleon written in Arabic—Camera obscura—Variety of elegant costumes—English traveller—The author's meeting with his Spanish friends—Fair of Nijnei Novgorod—Serf comedians.

Immediately after taking leave of my friends, I entered the carriage with my travelling companion, and we proceeded on our way to Moscow. On the next morning, the 24th, we arrived at the fourth relay, called Toflna, where we breakfasted. In no country is posting performed at such a rapid rate as in Russia. It surpasses that in the south of France, and even the velocity of the posting on horseback in some parts of Spain. We arrived at about

* See Mémoires de Monsieur Ségur. vol. II. p. 327.

noon at Podberezie, where an excellent dinner was served to us, though, to avoid repetition, I ought to remark here that the attendance from St. Petersburgh to Moscow is equally good. We then continued our way, and succeeded in crossing the Wolkoff, thus avoiding a circuit of thirty wersts, which otherwise we should have been obliged to make by passing through Novgorod, a city to the right of that river. Not far from this place are the celebrated military colonies,* which have been so much spoken of in Europe, and which at present, according to the opinion of many, are neither military nor agricultural—they are nothing. In former times those places were the cradle of the famous Novgorodian Republic.

At seven in the evening we arrived at Bronnitzi, and continued travelling the whole night on an excellent road, which but a few years ago was impassable. At day-break we reached Krestzi, and entered a road which for a considerable distance runs near the banks of the great canal, which the extraordinary genius of Peter I. caused to be made, to open a communication between the Baltic and Caspian seas, and which has been lately bordered with granite. Although during the whole morning the road was by no means favourable to the horses, at three in the afternoon we reached a village called Woldaï, the situation of which is extremely picturesque, being on the borders of a lake in which are a number of islets, and surrounded by beautifully diversified hills, a Greek monastery, which in former times possessed an extensive authority over the adjacent country, forming a prominent feature in the perspective.

Whilst dinner was preparing at a very good inn where we stopped, Mr. Mamonoff and myself went to bathe in the lake, the heat, which was overpowering, rendering this ablution very pleasant; and on our return to the inn we sat down to an excellent dinner with increased appetites. In proportion as we advanced, the road became worse, the great quantity of snow which covers the earth during seven or eight months in the year preventing its acquiring the necessary solidity. In many places it is still formed of the boards with which Peter I. caused it to be covered for several hundred wersts, and which occasion in summer a very disagreeable motion, while on the other hand they seem better adapted to injure the carriages than to remedy the inconveniences of a swampy soil. Betancourt, who was intrusted with the care of removing these obstacles, had already made some progress towards attaining that object.

On the 26th, at noon, we stopped a moment at Torjok, in which place there are some excellent leather manufactories, and where we bought a few articles. At nine o'clock, P.M. we arrived at Twer,

* The same elderly gentleman residing at St. Petersburgh, of whom I have already spoken, also presented me with a manuscript treating of those establishments, and written with considerable talent; but which I regret to say I lost in England, with several other papers which I had left in the care of a friend of mine.

where tea was served to us in a style that would not have disgraced the best hotel in England. As from May to August the nights in this region are so short, the heat and the bad roads rendered our travelling here extremely tedious. It now and then reminded me of Castille; the country also abounding in large monasteries, which possessed considerable wealth when the Russian government were less acquainted with their true interests.

As we approached Moscow, the country assumed a more cultivated aspect, and numerous villas adorned the prospect on each side of the road. On reaching an elevated spot about eight wersts from Moscow, this celebrated city burst upon our sight, spreading over a considerable space of ground, the famous Kremlin rising amidst a multitude of palaces, and the gilded cupolas of the numerous churches, rendered doubly brilliant by the rays of the setting sun, offering a sight as novel to me as it was splendid and imposing. My companion, who had made the campaign of Moscow against Napoleon, pointed out to me the road by which the vanguard of the great army came, a point which, notwithstanding the distance, I was enabled to distinguish very clearly, owing to the elevation of the road through which the French reached the city, and on the highest part of which the government have the project of erecting a sumptuous temple to perpetuate the memory of it. On hearing from my friend the interesting account of the burning of Moscow, in which so much wealth was consumed, it was impossible, on casting one's eyes on the city, not to be struck with awe and admiration.

About seven wersts from the city, we saw to the left of our road a palace which had been the residence of Peter the Great, and farther on, the state prison, standing in an isolated situation, and surrounded by a high wall. We entered the city at eight o'clock in the evening, and experienced none of those difficulties which I met with on my arrival at St. Petersburgh.

When, in Russia, an officer is on the point of setting off for the place of his destination, the minister of war delivers to him a *feuille de poste*, and the exact sum required to defray the expenses of posting. Thus the peasantry are never called upon, as is the case in Spain and other countries, to furnish the military with the means of conveyance, to the great detriment of agriculture.

My affairs at Moscow were confined to a visit to the governor-general, by whom my *feuille de poste* was to be signed; but the negro, whom I had sent from St. Petersburgh with my carriage, had taken so little care of it, that I was obliged to dispose of it, and procure myself another, more fit for travelling, which is called in the country *kibitka*,* and without which it is very likely I should

* This vehicle resembles a cradle, and is covered with oil-skin. It has two seats in front, one for the coachman, and the other for the servant, and is supported by four wheels, but has no springs.

never have reached the Caucasus in a condition to perform any service. This detained me four days at Moscow, the first and last of which my companion and myself dined with the lady of one of our best friends at St. Petersburgh, and the second with the family of Prince Andrew Galitzin, who had just arrived from their country-house in the vicinity of Moscow. General Poltarasky, commandant of one of the brigades in garrison here, and greatly attached to the chief under whose orders I was going to serve, was a member of this family. My short sojourn at Moscow did not permit me to examine the objects worthy of notice which are to be seen in a city so celebrated in the annals of our times, and which by its situation will not fail to figure in all the political events that may take place in Russia.

Moscow and the numerous villas adjoining it are spread in a uniform manner over a circumference of forty wersts. The Kremlin rises majestically almost in the centre of the city, and is surrounded by several hundreds of field-pieces, taken on the retreat of Napoleon's grand army. Near this palace are seen the Russian shops, and immediately after, the numerous palaces of the Muscovite nobility, on which the ravages committed by the flames are no longer observable. Although this city has been so long the residence of the autocrats, and the principal theatre of their tyranny, there is a monument, which, even in Philadelphia, would excite the interest and veneration of every patriot; namely, an extremely well executed statue in bronze of Kouzmà Miminn in the costume of a citizen. This man, who was a butcher of Nijnei Novgorod, succeeded, in one of the great conflicts to which his country was exposed at the beginning of the seventeenth century, in rousing the energies of his countrymen, and in assembling a respectable force, which he placed under the command of a worthy and valiant man, who raised the siege of Moscow, and expelled the invaders from its soil.

The streets of Moscow are very wide, but they are not so clean as those of St. Petersburgh, nor is there that gayety and bustle which is the predominant features of those capitals where much commerce is carried on. The people, however, are even more hospitable, and the society more easy of access than at St. Petersburgh. Had I accepted all the invitations I received, I must have remained at Moscow several weeks.

The direct road to Caucasus, or to Persia, is through Toula, (a place celebrated for its manufactories of arms,) and continues afterwards by Woronèje towards the Don. That of Nijnei Novgorod, where at this time was held the great fair, is considerably removed from the former; but as General Betancourt happened to be in this city, and I was desirous to bid him farewell, I made this circuit with pleasure. On the 31st of July, having parted from my travelling companion, who took the road to Smolensko, I followed in the op-

posite direction, shut up with my books and my young negro in the kibitka. This road was in rather better condition than that from St. Petersburgh to Moscow, and the travelling proportionally expeditious.

Having experienced a long delay at Poltava, I was prevented from reaching Pokrow till late in the afternoon ; and passing afterwards through Lipna, where I stopped a short time at an inn conducted in the English style, of which several are met with in Russia, I continued travelling the whole night at a rapid rate, and at the break of day entered Wladimir, the capital of the government of the same name, formerly the residence of the persecuted court of Russia, and at present one of the finest and cleanest cities of the interior. The public promenade borders the road conducting to the town, and extends to the river, which is crossed by a floating bridge.

At the next relay in Barákova, finding that all the horses were engaged for the colonel-general of the hussars of the guard, I hired horses of a peasant, and set off before him to avoid any farther delay. At the close of day I reached Soudagda, where there are other military colonies, similar to those of Novogorod, and early in the morning, Mourones, the capital of another government. It is situated on a hill overlooking the great river Oka, which is crossed by a barge. The great number of windmills that are seen here reminded me of Memel ; but the surrounding country is much finer, being fertilized by the waters of the river, and extremely well cultivated.

On the 4th of August, at day-break, I arrived at the heights from which the city of Nijnei Novgorod is seen in the form of an amphitheatre on the confluence of the two majestic rivers, the Oka and the Wolga. In one of the angles formed by their junction, and on the opposite side of the town, stands the building where the celebrated fair is held. I reached the city so early in the morning, that it was with much difficulty I found a place where to alight, the inns here being for the most part very inferior to those found in the other cities in Russia. Having immediately sent a servant to ascertain whether General Betancourt was still in town, I learned with pleasure that he would be glad to see me without delay, and that he insisted on my taking up my quarters with him during my residence here.

The city of Nijnei Novgorod is very celebrated in the annals of Russia, and still preserves some antiquities. The fair held here, known by the name of St. Makarieff's fair, because it originally terminated on the anniversary of the festival of this saint, is, according to the general opinion, the most numerously attended of any in Europe. Formerly it was held at a short distance from town on the banks of the Wolga, and on the estate of a nobleman of the country. It is asserted that the magazines and other buildings for the fair, which produced a considerable revenue to the proprietor,

were intentionally set on fire, and entirely consumed, and that the nobleman was prevented from rebuilding them. The Emperor Alexander then ordered an edifice to be built exclusively for this object, which should unite solidity with convenience, and offer such advantages as should invite merchants to concur and increase the revenues of the crown. General Betancourt formed the plan of the building, and inspected its execution, which was exclusively carried on under the immediate direction of Spanish military engineers.

As this edifice is erected on one of the angles formed by the junction of the two rivers, its magazines, which are laid out in the form of galleries or porticos supported by iron pillars, and which occupy a quadrangular space of ground of about a thousand toises, are surrounded by canals. When I visited this place, it was nearly finished: it had been four years in constructing, and had cost the Russian treasury more than 10,000,000 of roubles (paper money*), a great part of this sum, however, being absorbed in the subterraneous works they had been obliged to construct, on account of the light and sandy soil on which the building is erected. It is, however, executed with the solidity of the Spanish buildings, and is guaranteed by the director for the space of a hundred years without repairing. It brings a revenue to the government of about a million and a half of roubles per annum.

It cannot be doubted that both the fair and the town have gained much by the construction of this new building; the former on account of the great accommodation which it affords to merchants, who can with more facility and economy convey their goods by water; and the latter by the visible increase of population, and the wealth which it diffuses.

The house belonging to the engineers intrusted with the direction of these works, and which was the same where General Betancourt then resided, stands opposite to the magazines, and near the great bridge of boats on the Oka, which facilitates the communication between the town and the fair.

The most important commerce is carried on by the Russians† and the Boukharees, who bring manufactured goods in silk, cotton, cashmere shawls, (some of which sell as high as 6,000 roubles,) turquoises, and lapis lazuli, saltpetre, dried fruits, and various other things, and export, in return, sugar, coffee, cloths, arms, and articles in leather and iron, the greatest part of which come from the celebrated manufactories of Toula. The Boukharees travel in caravans, and perform part of their way by the Wolga, their voyage being rendered at present more expeditious by the steamboats that navi-

* At that time this money was 75 per cent. discount.

† According to the general opinion, the Russian merchant is as little to be trusted as the Polish Jews, who are so renowned for cheating. A Boukharee, however, assured us that his countrymen made more advantageous bargains with the former than with any of the other merchants; a circumstance the more singular, as the Boukharees are a people of great probity.

gate it. The greatest number of Russian merchants come from Moscow, among whom figure also some French *marchands des nouveautés*, who, though they only sell by retail, obtain great profits. The Armenians are not very numerous, their commerce being principally carried on in Georgia. I have likewise seen Turks and Greeks, whose principal traffic is in otto of roses, for which they never receive any merchandise in return.

In Russia the consumption of tea is very considerable, and consequently, an article much in demand at this fair. One merchant alone, who had just arrived with his caravan from the frontiers of China, had this year on sale teas to the value of 3,000,000 of roubles.* This man, who came always accompanied by his young wife, a lady possessing many personal attractions, yearly performed a journey to China at the head of his caravans. One day we met this lady at a shop buying four shawls, for which she paid 12,000 roubles. We were surprised at seeing that a woman, who scarcely frequented society for twenty days in the year, (most of her time being spent in travelling) should waste so much money in mere articles of luxury; but she explained the riddle to us, when she noticed our surprise, by saying in a very graceful manner, that "as her husband liked to see her dressed in the European fashion, she bought those articles to wear them in their journey through the deserts, her only happiness consisting in pleasing him."

The Boukharee Tartars are generally of a noble appearance, dress well, and are naturally peaceful and industrious. They are subject to an independent Khan, who resides at Boukharia, a city not far from Samarcand, the district of which they must cross to reach the frontiers of Russia, though not without danger. This they sometimes elude by partial treaties with the armed hordes of Kirguisses, who protect them against their idle and rapacious neighbours. The Boukharees to their habits of industry join a great desire for information, and I have seen several of them perusing a memoir of Napoleon, printed at Paris in Arabic, of which he caused many copies to be sent to Tartary, and which is very popular among them.

General Betancourt had, in the gallery of the house in which he resided, a camera obscura, which was sufficiently large to admit several persons, and where we took one of the Boukharees (who appeared the most sociable among them) to see the impression which the sight of so many living objects continually passing the bridge would make on his mind. To judge by the extreme surprise he at first evinced, he believed the whole to be supernatural; but his inquietude became excessive, when he distinguished, among the moving groups, one of his countrymen and friends. Unable to understand each other, we lost the doubtless original questions which

* Tea is dearer at Nijnei than in England or North America; but the flavour is much finer than that which crosses the seas.

he endeavoured to make us comprehend by violent and incessant gesticulations.

The number of merchants assembled this year at the fair was from 130,000 to 140,000; a multitude which naturally presented a great variety of costumes and countenances. Here was seen the Russian merchant, wrapped up in his blue caftan, beside his wife, arrayed in the national dress, and her hair adorned with a profusion of strings of pearls; there the Persians and the Armenians, with their high caps of curly goat skin, and double hanging sleeves. Farther on, the Tartar of Boukharia, and that of Kasan, and of Mongolia; while the Turk paced up and down with his usual indolence and slow gait, as if afraid the ground would give way beneath his steps. The European merchant, whose dress appeared no less singular in the eyes of the former, than theirs did in ours, occupied a prominent station; and amidst this mercantile Babylon, was an English traveller, as inquisitive as he appeared dissatisfied. He always went about accompanied by an Italian, called Filistri, who, having nothing better to do, served him as guide, both having rendered themselves remarkable to the merchants by a string of questions, and their economy in making purchases. The Tartars and other Asiatics, who believed them to be both English, and who had no other ideas of Englishmen than those which they had gathered from the memoirs of Napoleon, and from the confused and unfavourable accounts of the events passing in India, avoided them as if they were infected with the plague.

In the evening the fair is transformed into a great Tivoli, where a theatre, rope-dancers, Russian swings, jugglers, learned quadrupeds, sea-monsters, and many other amusing objects are seen, and engage the attention of the delighted multitude. At the same time, the higher class of society have their brilliant assemblies, at which the most distinguished families of the country attend. General Betancourt, to whom I had given a description of the fete given by the nobility of Murcia, reminded me of it one night when we attended one of these elegant and splendid entertainments. Indeed, the same refinement and good taste, displayed in the higher circles of St. Petersburgh, are found in those of the most remote towns of the interior. In Russia, this class of people unite all the dignity of the English nobility with the gayety and agreeable manners of the French, before they became politicians. The ladies, who every where in Europe are the very soul of society, are no way inferior in personal attractions, affability, vivacity, and wit, to those of any other European country.

By a very curious coincidence, the only three Spanish officers* in the service of Russia, whom General Betancourt employed in superintending the construction of the building for the fair, were all

* Their names are Bausa, Biado, and Espejo.

of them old friends of mine. This agreeable meeting was a source of deep interest and pleasure to us all. One of them, participating in the strong attachment which Spaniards have for their native country, had with him an old female servant, a native of Andalusia, who once served us a breakfast almost entirely in the Spanish fashion, a circumstance as singular in this remote country, as would be, on the frontiers of China, the European toilet of the amiable wife of the tea-merchant.

The fair ends at present on the 10th or 15th of August, three weeks after St. Makarieff's day, when a great number of boats are immediately loaded, and re-descend the Wolga with the Boukharees and other Tartars, Armenians, &c. who as they approach Astracan, which is 150 leagues from Nijnei Novgorod, soon disperse in different directions.

Before dismissing the subject of the fair, I ought to mention here the only thing I remarked repugnant to my feelings; namely, the public theatre, in which there is a company of comedians wholly composed of *serfs*, belonging to a certain personage who makes a traffic of their exertions, and whom he often stimulates by harsh treatment. To hear an unhappy slave acting *only on the boards* the part of a hero or a freeman, creates a melancholy reflection, and one cannot help fancying that the proprietor himself is behind the scenes with the knout raised, acting the part of a prompter.

CHAPTER XXV.

The author proceeds for Georgia—Seransk—Its fair—Penza—Beggars—Wolves—City of Woroneje—War between the Tzar Demetri and the Khan Mamay—The steppes—Town of Kasankaia—The River Don—The Kalmucks—Their tents—Tcherkaske, capital of the Don Cossacks—Their customs and superstition—Fish—Wine of the banks of the Don—Seredniy Yeguerlik—The Tcherkasses or Circassians—Their costume, physiognomy, &c.—Attack of a courier—Arrival at Staropol—First view of the great Caucasian range—Gheorguiewsh, capital of the government of the Caucasus—Mozdok—River Terak, separating Europe and Asia—Father Henri, a Jesuit from Namur settled at Mozdok—General Yermolow attacks the Tchetchenkis.

The time fixed for my departure from Nijnei Novgorod having arrived, I bid farewell to my kind protector and to the rest of my Spanish friends, and took the shortest road to Georgia on the 15th of August, preferring to continue my journey alone to the company of some Armenian merchants, who had offered to travel with me to the place of my destination, whither they were going, but whose coarse manners were by no means inviting. In the hope of rendering my journey less tedious and fatiguing, I provided myself with a mattress for my kibitka, with some books, a gun, materials for

drawing, a quantity of provisions, cigars, and, above all, a good stock of patience.

On the day after leaving Nijnei, I passed at day-break through Arsamas, after travelling over a road rendered almost impassable by the incessant rains which had fallen within the last few days, and which were ushering in the long winter season of Russia; the thermometer two days before my departure from Nijnei being at certain hours of the day 2° below zero.

At Seransk, where I stopped a short time for the purpose of procuring some other articles, which the fears I entertained respecting the poor accommodations on the road seemed to render necessary, I found another fair, though very inferior to that of Nijnei Novgorod, where a great number of horses for draught, most of them very fine, were exposed for sale. The water-melons of Seransk are excellent, in great abundance, and very cheap; as are also all kinds of provisions, of which I bought sufficient for four or five days, in poultry and fruits, and paid only two roubles in paper.

Notwithstanding the communication between the two fairs, I found the road rather unfrequented, meeting only here and there a post of Russian peasants, to whom the security of the road was intrusted; although it is very rarely that a traveller is attacked by robbers in Russia.

Having left Seransk, I travelled on without any interruption till I reached a small hamlet, called Yermolow, in which I met with an unpleasant adventure at the post-house, where, from the chief down to the lowest servant, all were intoxicated, and where, amidst the noise and riot occasioned by this drunken group, neither the efforts or prayers of my postilion, or mine, were heard or regarded. At length, after the greatest trouble, we succeeded in inducing one of the postilions to take his seat on the kibitka, and proceed. But after driving a few wersts, he placed the reins in the hands of my little negro, and alighting, abandoned the carriage, equally unmindful of my offers or threats. Reeling and tumbling, he repeated the word *priama* (straight-forward), now pointing one way, and now another; and, as unfortunately this happened at a point where several roads met, and where not a soul was to be seen, it considerably increased my uncertainty as to which of them to follow. Having, however, prevailed on him to show us the road to Penza, we proceeded on our way; but as I had been unable to induce him to give up his whip to my negro, we were obliged to resort to pebbles, as is often done by the Spanish muleteers, in order to urge forward the horses, and after considerable trouble we reached the next post-house in Sloboda. Here the master of the relay evinced some surprise at seeing me arrive without a postilion; but when I explained to him the cause of it, he readily believed it, as the same had happened to other travellers.

The country in the vicinity of this place is very fertile, and is irri-

gated by the waters of the river Soura, which empties itself into the Wolga. It was midnight when we entered Penza, the capital of the government of the same name, and 80 leagues from Nijnei Novgorod. The master of the post-house had already retired to bed; but he immediately arose on our arrival, and I judged, by the comforts which his house afforded, that we were in a city very superior to the places through which we had just passed. After taking a cup of tea, to which I had greatly accustomed myself since my arrival in Russia, I proceeded on my journey.

In proportion as we removed from Nijnei Novgorod, I perceived a material difference in the temperature. We left Penza with a clear moonlight night, the silence of which was interrupted only by the merry songs and crackings of the whips of our Russian postilions, who are as noisy and full of mirth as the most buoyant *zagales* (post-boys) of Andalusia. From Penza to Woroneje, that is to say, in a distance of more than 500 wersts, the only two tolerable places met with are Tambow, capital of the government of Tchembar, and Kirzanow. Korlow and a few others, which are beyond these, are so inconsiderable, that they have not even obtained a place in the charts of the country.

On the 19th I passed through Arguelek, where for the first time I met with Tartar postilions, as well as with a great number of beggars, a sight at which I was greatly surprised, as since my arrival in Russia I had not seen any. The appearance of these poor wretches by day, and that of the numerous wolves that at night roamed about the road, rendered our travelling here by no means pleasant. On the morning of the 22nd we arrived at Woroneje, where I was obliged to remain a few hours in order to repair my kibitka. This city, which, like most of the towns in Russia, is built in a modern style, is rather handsome and populous; but once out of it, one meets only deserts for a considerable number of leagues, the post-houses themselves being miserable hovels, without chimneys, or any kind of accommodation.

The fields of Woroneje, near the Don, are celebrated in the history of Russia as having been at different epochs the theatre of great events. Towards the close of the 14th century, during the reign of the Tzar Dmitry, the great Khan Mamay invaded Russia at the head of 700,000 men, to extort from that warlike prince the shameful tribute which had hitherto been paid to the Tartars, but which he would no longer grant. Having, therefore, resolved to meet his enemy, he called all the neighbouring princes around him, and asked from a monastery of Trinitarians two celebrated monks, that they might act as leaders to his army. Dmitry then passed the Don at the head of 400,000 men, and met all the troops of the great Khan assembled near Woroneje. On the two armies coming in presence of each other, the Tzar caused all the bridges to be destroyed, to oblige his soldiers to conquer or die; whilst a Tartar

advancing from the ranks, challenged any Russian to fight in single combat. Perewer, one of the two monks, accepted the challenge, and, without exchanging more than one blow, both combatants bit the dust, when immediately the battle commenced, and soon became general on every point. The great Prince Dmitry, though wounded and surrounded by enemies, succeeded in extricating himself, and obtained a complete victory over the invaders. This triumph, however, cost him dearly; for after a campaign of only a few weeks, the Russians lost nine-tenths of their army. This immense loss may be accounted for by the exterminating manner of making war in those times, and by the excesses into which the soldiers plunged after gaining a victory.

I left Woroneje early in the afternoon. The weather was extremely fine; but the appearance of the *steppes*, or deserts, which begin at Woroneje, and extend to the foot of the Caucasus, is barren and desolate beyond expression. I believe, however, that far from not being susceptible of cultivation, they might, with time and labour, become the most abundant granaries of Russia. Indeed, if they are not so now, it must be attributed to a bad administration, and to the very scanty population of these districts.

Pawlowsk and Bobrow are the only villages that are met with from Woroneje to Kasankaïa, an extent of forty-five leagues. The two former places are considered as the capitals of districts which exist at present only in imagination. The service of posts in this high road from Moscow to the Don is very superior to that leading to Nijnei Novgorod, Penza, and the rest, over which I had just been travelling.

Kasankaïa forms the boundaries of the government of Woroneje, and that of the Cossacks of the Don, the winding course of which greatly inclining towards the east, doubtless prompted Peter the Great to undertake the colossal work of opening a communication between the Black and the Caspian seas by means of a canal of about seventy or eighty wersts in length, but which must be cut through a chain of mountains, a work which, when Constantinople becomes the third capital of the Russian empire, will not remain long unaccomplished.

The majestic river Don is crossed at Kasankaïa by a ferry, and the posts are then under the direction of Cossacks. On leaving this river behind, the monotony of the steppes was such, that a bird, a tree, or a hovel were as welcome to me as signs of land might be to a sailor after a long voyage. In crossing those deserts during the night of the 23d and on the following day, I met with several troops of wandering horses, and with some hordes of Kalmucks, transporting from one place to another their *kivitki*, or tents, made of skins, where they all huddle together round a small fire, sheltered from the cold, the wind, and the rain. There I have seen the children contending for a bone with the dogs, by whom

they are continually attacked. The wealth of a Kalmuck consists of a kivitka, more or less habitable, a few horses, some camels, and buffaloes. These idle wanderers are continually changing their residence, which lasts only so long as they find pasture for their cattle around the place of their encampment. To their love of idleness they join a passion for strong liquors, and a propensity to thieving, in which they indulge whenever they can do it without risk.

I arrived on the morning of the 25th at the post-house near the modern Tcherkaske, the capital of the country of the Cossacks of the Don, and about thirty wersts from the old one, which bears the same name. Nothing is more irksome to an impatient traveller, who moreover is not overstocked with provisions, than to see the miserable postilions in vain exerting every nerve to urge forward their lean and exhausted horses. From Tcherkaske the road borders the heights on which the city stands as far as Bataïskaïa, a town inhabited by Cossacks, and the whole of which is neatly built of wood in a modern style. The river Don is again crossed here by a floating bridge. The mercantile riches of this town consist chiefly in timber, which comes down this river from Orel, a distance of about two hundred miles, and which is forwarded to the sea of Azoff. As I passed through the town, I alighted to see the market-place, and by the ornaments worn by some of the Cossack women, I perceived that their husbands or relations had been of the number of those who had exercised their trade of rapine from the banks of the Niemen to those of the Seine.

The interior of the houses belonging to the Cossacks, to judge from those which I saw near the capital, is a model of cleanliness and economy. In this respect they surpass all I have seen in Russia. The small number of Cossacks, who succeed in exempting themselves from the military service, are devoted to commerce, in which their industry generally insures success. It is, doubtless, owing to this, that the greatest part of the Cossack population is found on the borders of the Don and of the Koubann, the sterility of the steppes being an impediment against their forming any settlements there.

The Cossacks are hospitable at home; but they carry their religious scruples towards those who differ from them in creed, so far as to break the glass or plate used by their guests. These scruples, however, do not prevent them, when they are in foreign countries, from making as large a booty as they possibly can; and indeed these spoils have at all times formed the principal wealth of the Cossacks of the Don.

The post-houses in this country, especially those which are met with out of the towns, are generally wretched huts, having two divisions; one for the traveller who would be foolish enough to sojourn there; and the other for the postilions, the master of the

post-house, and the man, called *econome*, who all live pell-mell. The duty of the master is to examine and register the traveller's *feuille de poste*, and to take care that he be expeditiously served; and that of the latter to keep up the fire, for which a kind of straw cake, and brushwood alone is used, (as scarcely any wood is found in these deserts,) and to furnish the traveller with whatever provisions are in the house, which are, indeed, so scanty, that, were he to come unprovided, I suspect not all the exertions of Monsieur l'Econome would prevent him from starving. The man who fills this office is always a disabled veteran, who is thus employed till he completes the twenty-five years of service, which the Russian government assigns to the Cossacks. I have no doubt that, had I understood their language, I should have heard from them an account of their would-be military exploits, of which these men are very fond of boasting.

The modern Tcherkaske, which is now the residence of the governor, or hetman of the Cossacks, is a city extremely well situated. I have seen few spots in Russia more picturesque than the mountain on which it stands. It overlooks a vast plain, separated from the steppes, and watered by the wide Don and several other tributary streams, whilst the towns Stary-Tcherkaske, Bataïskaïa, Rostow, and several others, form various groupes on the same horizon with Tcherkaske, and complete the harmony of the picture.

The Don abounds in excellent fish, and its banks produce the wine properly called of the Don, which is drunk by the people of the country as a delicious nectar, but which Europeans will not find equally good, unless it be very old, when it resembles champagne. This flavour is particularly noticed in the wines of some French vintners, who have established themselves in this country, where their industry does not remain unrewarded.

At the time of my crossing the Don, we were nearly swept into the river by impetuous gusts of wind, accompanied by violent showers of rain and a fall of snow, which gave a most frightful aspect to the steppes, into which I very soon after entered. The farther I removed from the capital, horses, roads, post-hovels, every thing became gradually worse; and such is the zig-zag which the road takes, to avoid the great number of marshes in the neighbourhood of that city, that though I had travelled several leagues, whenever I looked back, and the atmosphere cleared a little, I still saw the heights of Tcherkaske as if I had not advanced a werst. It may easily be conceived what a pleasant night I must have had in crossing those deserts with such bad horses and such dismal weather. Leaving it entirely to the care of my negro to see the *feuille de poste* signed and registered at the various relays we met in our way, I scarcely quitted the carriage till the evening of the 26th, when we arrived at Serednïy Yeguerlik, where those coming from Persia towards the Don are obliged to perform quarantine.

This place forms the boundary of the government of Tcherkaske, and that of the Caucasus.

Whilst I was waiting for a change of horses, a man, having a more martial air, a different costume, and mounted on a finer horse than those I had hitherto seen, approached me, and said, in a language which I had much difficulty in understanding, that he was charged with offering me an escort, a proffer which I declined accepting, as I did not contemplate I was incurring any danger by travelling without it. The above place was the last post-house served by Cossacks, the Tcherkesses or Circassians, to whom the chief who had just spoken to me belonged, being now the people intrusted with this care.

The costume of the Circassians, which has been generally adopted by all the inhabitants of this part of the Caucasus, is extremely simple and martial. It consists of a short cloth tunic of some light colour, fitting to the body, with long and wide sleeves. On each side of the breast are placed symmetrically several small tubes, to contain ammunition, more or less ornamented. On the head they wear a very light fur cap, and a long hood to protect them from the rain. Their wide trowsers resemble those of the Mamelukes; and their arms consist of a dirk and a pistol at the belt, a *damasquine* sabre hanging at the side, and a long but light gun with a shoulder-belt. Their horses, though lean, are strong, light, and tractable, and their accoutrements are extremely well adapted for war. Like the Arabs, they use their stirrups as spurs, and carry a small whip fastened to their wrists, which does not at all seem to inconvenience them, and which they seldom lay aside even in their houses. They smoke a great deal with a small pipe, like the rest of the people of the Caucasus. Their countenances are not unlike those of the North American Indians, and their complexion is rather darker than that of the Cossacks.

The roads, after passing Yeguerlik, are not much better than those we had just left, although the service of the posts was rather improved. On the following day I had reason to regret having refused the escort. The fog did not permit me to distinguish any objects; but soon after day-break I heard musket-shots not far distant, and immediately after saw a Tcherkesse coming towards us at full gallop. I had alighted from the carriage, and loaded my gun to defend myself in case of an attack, intending to make a kind of parapet of the vehicle, when he approached me, and gave me to understand that he had been fighting with an armed party, who had attacked the courier. We retrograded towards a post, stationed at a short distance in our rear, and soon after I saw the courier, who was on his way to St. Petersburgh, arrive in a state which proved the danger he had just overcome. He told me that I should act very imprudently were I to travel without an escort, to which I was entitled, the authorities being obliged to take every

precaution for the safety of the officers, couriers, and other travellers. I was, therefore, compelled to remain there till I procured an escort, which was relieved at every relay, and with which I arrived on the evening of the same day at Staropol. From this place is seen a great part of the chain of the Caucasus, as well as the Elborus, which, apparently isolated, rises majestically before the others. The imposing sight which such an elevated and extensive chain of mountains, whose pinnacles are eternally covered with snow, presents, is the more impressive, as from St. Petersburgh to Staropol, a distance of four hundred leagues, there is scarcely any thing but plains. The Caucasus, moreover, reminds one of what history and mythology have transmitted to us respecting this cradle of the human race.

Staropol is a city finely situated, and built upon a good model. It is tolerably well peopled; but the total neglect of agriculture renders almost fruitless the cares bestowed by the Russian government to make these new establishments prosper.

Gheorguïewsh, which is the capital of the government of the Caucasus, is 170 wersts from the Don. In my way thither, I met some of the infantry regiments, recently destined for the army of Georgia, which had belonged to the corps under the orders of Count Worontzoff, who had just left France. On my arrival at that city, I was quartered at the house of a man who was a great sportsman, and who invited me to partake of his frugal repast. Here for the first time I partook of the excellent pheasants of the country, the flavour of which is superior to any I ever tasted. In this place I reposed myself for the first time since my departure from Nijnei Novgorod.

On the evening of the following day I arrived at Mozdok. The road from Woroneje to this place is bordered on each side by rows of trees, as are all the roads of the empire, whether good or bad, except on the steppes; and I remarked that all the trees were of an equal height, a circumstance which proves how well the energetic orders of Alexander are observed throughout the empire.

Mozdok is situated on a plain on the left bank of the river Terak, which winds through those valleys. It has its source in the bosom of the Caucasus, and empties itself into the Caspian sea, forming on that side the boundary between Europe and Asia. The small number of noble families in this country, of whom some are natives of Georgia, are sunk into such a horrible state of misery, that they are confounded with the populace, owing to their inhabiting a country almost entirely peopled with freebooters.

As throughout the Russian empire all religions are tolerated, the Jesuits, who are themselves the most intolerant, and who know how to profit of this freedom in every corner of the world, have some years since formed an establishment at Mozdok, where they had always apartments prepared for any catholic traveller who might

pass through Mozdok. Having presented myself to the military commandant of this city, and learned from him that General Yermolow was then in the country of the Tchetchenkis, a province not very distant from Mozdok, on the northern side of the Caucasus, and that, to proceed thither, I should be obliged to leave my kibitka and various other things here, I begged him to inform me where I might deposite them until my return, when he referred me to the house belonging to the mission of the Jesuits, in which he said most of the officers travelling through were in the habit of lodging, as it afforded conveniences which were not to be found in any of the houses of the natives. I was not much inclined to avail myself of this information; but when I visited the house where I was to be quartered, the intolerable bad smell, filth, vermin, and misery by which the family was surrounded, and above all my want of confidence in the host, induced me to apply at the house of the Jesuits.

Here I was received very civilly by one of the two Jesuits of which the mission was composed, his companion being then absent on his professional duties, that is, confessing the catholics who were serving in the army. My present host, who was a native of Namur, advanced in age, but very active, immediately showed me an apartment, which was clean and neatly furnished. I informed him of my intention to set off on the following day, but that I should be obliged by his keeping my apartment unoccupied until my return. He inquired of what religion I was, and discovered me to be a Spaniard by my pronunciation. In the evening he paid me a long visit, in which I learned that his name was Henri, and that he had emigrated from France at the time of the French Revolution, had since visited many distant countries, and even China, and had at length settled at the foot of the Caucasus. Though he appeared to me a man free from prejudice, I did not think proper to relate my adventures to him.

The comforts and good attendance I met with at this place afforded a striking contrast with the want of cleanliness observable in all the houses of the town. I was instantly supplied with every thing I wanted, and I remember that, having mentioned to the Jesuit that my servant had lost his cap during his journey, he very soon afterwards brought me one for him, which was made by a lady belonging to the nobility of the town, who was under his spiritual guidance, and who, notwithstanding her pedigree, earned her livelihood by her needle; in which, however, to judge from the specimen I now saw, she did not appear to be a great proficient.

The humble costume of this clergyman, the extreme simplicity of his own abode compared with the comforts of my apartment, his varied and instructive conversation, every thing prejudiced me in his favour; but I perceived that notwithstanding his unassuming manners, he was better instructed in the military operations of General Yermolow than even the commandant-at-arms himself. From him

I learned that the general-in-chief had some months since quitted his usual residence at Teflis, and was directing in person the operations against the Tchetchenkis, whose hostile spirit was highly injurious to the whole line of the Terak, especially to the profitable establishment of Kislar, of which I shall hereafter speak.

According to the tenor of the Jesuit's conversation, who, notwithstanding my reserve, endeavoured under various pretexts to discover the object of my journey, I should be considered in the light of an intriguing spy by Yermolow, whom he reported as an enemy to all the foreigners who served in the Russian army, and from whom I was to expect the most uncourteous reception, and a treatment to expose me to the most imminent dangers, that he might at once rid himself of me. Father Henri spoke long on this subject, and I own that his account made a great impression on me. I feared to see those hopes frustrated with which I had been inspired at St. Petersburgh respecting my chief, for whom I had hitherto felt a secret veneration, and in whom I had hoped to find my best protector. Fortunately, the Jesuit himself was the first to calm the fears he had occasioned. Notwithstanding all the impartiality, and even humility which he had at first manifested, as he proceeded he became unguarded in his expressions, and said, among other things, that the only consolation of all the foreigners in that country was the spiritual friendship of this mission.

In all other respects I found Father Henri a most benevolent, enlightened, and estimable man, possessing all the ardour and zeal of an apostle, and all the affability, knowledge, and tolerance of one who had seen, read, and reflected much; nor ought I to omit here that the information and advice he gave me respecting the country and inhabitants I was to visit, were of the utmost service to me in more than one instance.

Forty-eight hours after my arrival, I called again upon the commandant-at-arms, that he might give orders about the escort I was to take; and having deposited my kibitka in the place appropriated for them, I intrusted to the missionary the remainder of my superfluous articles, and prepared to take my departure for the headquarters of General Yermolow.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Arrival at Naur—Cossack settlements on the River Terak—Account of the Cossacks of the Terak—Their fidelity—Tcherlanaïa—Schalkowskoïe—Kalaussha—Andreïewsky, capital of the province of the Tchetchenkis—Redoubt at Aksai—The author arrives at the head-quarters of General Yermolow—The general's tent or kivitka—His address to the officers lately arrived—His reception of the author—Defeat of the mountaineers and their prince—Capture of Andreïewsky—Beautiful girl of Andreïewsky—Description of costume—Character of Yermolow—His indefatigable attention to the duties of his office.

I LEFT Mozdok on horseback at three in the afternoon of the 31st of August, followed by my negro and three Cossacks of the Don, who escorted me. The chain of the Caucasus was on our right, about 55 or 60 wersts distant, and parallel with our road, which lay along the left bank of the Terak, leading through fertile though little populated plains to Naur, 55 wersts from Mozdok, where we arrived towards the close of day.

The line of the Terak, formerly deserted and dangerous, is at present inhabited by the colonies of Cossacks who settled here a few years back, and who are distinguished from the rest, not only because they bear the name of the river on the banks of which they live, but because they differ in costume and manners, their activity in war also surpassing that of all others. These colonies, which commence at Naur, and extend along the river, are continually exposed to the attacks of the neighbouring mountaineers, who at various points easily ford the Terak, especially in autumn. There is a military chief in every village, who acts likewise in civil matters. To him the travellers apply for escort, relays, lodging, or any thing else they may stand in need of. The colonists are obliged to furnish the officers and the couriers with these things upon rather more moderate terms than those exacted from the merchants and other individuals, who pass through these colonies.

The costume of the Cossacks of the Terak, the accoutrements of their horses, and their arms, differ little from the Circassians, or Tcherkesses. They never make use of the lance, as those of the Don. In their houses, which are always very clean, are seen the arms, saddle, bridle, &c., symmetrically placed, and in excellent condition.

They profess the Greek religion, and in every room have an image, to which they reverentially bow every time they go in and out, as well as whenever they commence or conclude any household affair, however trifling. This custom is also common among the Russians. The families of these Cossacks are very hospitable: they receive travellers with great affability, and readily furnish them

with every thing they want on terms the most moderate; but they are as fanatical as those of the Don, never again using the utensils which have served a person of a different religion. The escort of these Cossacks may always be confidently trusted to, as, in case of attack, they would all perish rather than abandon the individual they accompany.

Naur is pleasantly situated and regularly built, as are indeed all the villages of these colonies, which are also surrounded by walls, to guard them from a surprise. The commandant of these places seldom grants an escort during the night: I passed it at the house of one of these colonists, the father of a numerous family, who on my arrival were just returning from their agricultural labours. My negro greatly attracted the attention of the colonists, who could scarcely believe that his colour and woolly hair were natural. This occasioned many amusing scenes between the children of my host and him. In the bed-room assigned to me I found an excellent bed.

At six o'clock on the morning of the following day, I set off on horseback, escorted by two Cossacks of the Terak. The road was scarcely distinguishable on account of the thick fog. It was my wish to reach on that day Schalkowskoïe, a distance of 90 wersts, where the Terak is crossed before entering the country of the Tchetchenkis. At noon I arrived at a little village called Tcherlanaïa, half-way of my day's journey. As I could not be furnished here with horses, I procured, after much trouble, a sort of narrow cart, to which Don Quixote's cage would have been a palace. It was drawn but by one bad horse, and the wheels being not quite round, the motion was insupportable. At a distance of a few wersts from this place we quitted the road to Kislar, and followed that along the Terak, which leads through thick forests. Had it not been for some Russian troops, who in the course of the morning had passed along that road, and scared away the numerous banditti that infest it, I could not have ventured through those forests with my small escort. At length, having found post-horses in one of the relays, and traversed another forest, we arrived in the afternoon at Schalkowskoïe, where we met two infantry regiments, who, like those I had seen at Gheorguïewsk, were coming from France, and were on their way to head-quarters.

In this place, which is not very considerable, I entered the first house where I thought I saw hospitable faces, and where I established myself for the night at the invitation of the family, who very good naturedly presented me with some fruits of the season, the best I ever tasted in any part of Russia, especially the water-melon, which is here very delicious. Having learned from the officers of the regiments above mentioned that their departure would soon take place, I resolved to proceed in their company.

On the other side of the river, and opposite to Schalkowskoïe there is a redoubt, considerable enough to resist the attacks to which it

was likely to be subject. It protected that part of the Terak which is crossed by means of rafts, made of wood and osiers ; the singularity of which was greatly heightened by the sight of three hundred carts loaded with provisions, and an equal number of buffaloes conducted by Kalmucks, crossing over with the greatest facility. These men, who are about as handsome as their buffaloes, although belonging to the same race as those I had met in the steppes near the Don, are not in the habit of wandering like the former, but are established with their families in the interior of the country, near the Terak. They are, moreover, the most obedient, sober, and vigorous of the different tribes found about the Caucasus. They are generally called upon to furnish the army with carts, whenever stores and provision are to be transported to various points of the Caucasus. The crossing of the Terak occupied two days, and it would have lasted two weeks, had not the military, intrusted with the care of the convoy, displayed the utmost activity.

The province of the Tchetchenkis commences, at this point, immediately on crossing the Terak. It is inhabited by a fierce and unmanageable people, the greatest part of whom are freebooters, and of whom more hereafter. Their capital is called Andreïew, or Andreïewsky, where, we learned, the Russian troops had established their head-quarters, after having completely routed the mountaineers. As we were obliged to proceed at the same pace with the buffaloes, our march was naturally slow ; but the picturesque views which the country offered at every step compensated in some measure for the tediousness of our journey. Towards the close of day we arrived with this singular caravan at a redoubt (not far from a small village called Aksaï), which was but a little time back the most advanced fortified post in this province. The commandant of the redoubt invited several of us to take our punch with him, and received us in a subterraneous place where he said he had lived for several years without his health ever having suffered from it. All those under his orders inhabited similar places, so that no other dwellings were seen above, but the tents belonging to the battalions we marched with.

On the 5th at day-break, we commenced our march through a country, to the beauty and variety of which no pen could ever do justice ; and on the following day, towards evening, we approached Andreïewsky. Before reaching the city, the troops halted and suddenly formed, when I found that the general-in-chief Yermolow had, unaccompanied by any one, advanced on foot to meet this column. As all the troops of head-quarters, the officers on the staff, and the general-in-chief himself, were bivouacking before Andreïewsky, the battalions which had just arrived also pitched their tents there. I waited till the following day to present myself to the man whom I was most anxious to know ; and meantime profiting by the kind invi-

tion of the major of one of the regiments with whom I came, I spent the night in his tent.

The cannon announced the dawn, and I then beheld from the camp, which stood on an elevated spot, one of the most splendid sights I had ever seen, formed on one side by Andreïewsky, and on the others by fertile valleys and picturesque mountains. The body of officers with whom I had performed the last stages of my journey, and myself went to present ourselves to the general at six o'clock, the hour appointed on the preceding night for our visiting him. The tent of the general was what is called in the country a kivitka. It is in the form of a dome: the lower part is composed of a sort of trellis-work in wood, very light but solid, about five feet high; the top is made of rather thick osiers; and the whole is covered with a thick impenetrable cloth, manufactured in the country. It had a door on one side, and a sliding window on the other. Its diameter was between twenty-five and thirty feet.

On our drawing near, an aid-de-camp of Yermolow came out to meet us, and conducted us to the general's kivitka, which was furnished with a camp-bed, a table, and two chairs. Yermolow embraced the chiefs and officers with whom he was acquainted, and who had made with him the last campaign against Napoleon, and afterwards addressed himself to the whole circle, in the middle of which he stood in that martial attitude by which he is so much distinguished, entering at some length into the subject of the present war, and making humorous comparisons between the French campaign and that of the Caucasus, as well as on the diversity of objects offered by each. During his discourse, I observed the countenances of those by whom he was surrounded (among whom were officers of great merit), and it gave me pleasure to see that they were expressive of sincere attachment and respect; sentiments which, among the military class, are entertained only for those who, in the midst of bivouacs, lavish the noblest sacrifices to their country.

Yermolow appeared to be about forty years of age. He is a very tall man, but well proportioned; has a vigorous constitution, and an animated countenance, the expression of which at once stamps him as a man of superior mind. When he received us, he wore a military frock-coat with a red standing collar, epaulettes, and the riband of the order of St. George at the button-hole. On his bed lay a sabre, and a foraging cap, which completed his usual campaign dress. When the officers retired, he motioned me to remain. I had observed him sufficiently to be convinced that I might dispense with delivering my letters of recommendation to him, unless he himself alluded to them. The general, after congratulating me on my safe arrival, and welcoming me to head-quarters, entered upon the subject of my regiment, which he represented as being in the best possible condition, though in a state of inactivity, owing to the kind of warfare in which his army was at present engaged, in a mountainous

country, where no regular cavalry troops could be employed to advantage, the country itself furnishing such horsemen as they stood in need of. I expressed a wish to render myself more useful, and took my leave of him, having first received an invitation to dine with him on that day.

I then proceeded to the tent of the chief of the staff, General Williaminoff, with whom I remained but a short time, and to whom I delivered a letter from his friend, the sub-chief of the staff, Mr. Mentchikoff, after which I repaired to the tent of my comrade of bivouac, who, with several other officers, had also been invited to dine with Yermolow.

Three days before our arrival at Andreïewsky, a victory had been obtained over the united forces of the country, commanded by one of their princes, who, abandoning in his defeat the camp and the capital, the wounded and the dispersed, had retreated with the remains of his army into the almost impenetrable fastnesses of the mountains. The capital, which is said to contain more than twenty thousand inhabitants, all Mahometans, had been entirely evacuated by the people at the approach of an enemy whom they had so greatly exasperated. A priest and a few old men, who had taken refuge in a mosque, were the only persons found in the city.

Yermolow issued orders for the troops to bivouac before the city, at the same time strictly forbidding any soldiers to enter it, and causing his conciliatory intentions to be made known to the frightened inhabitants, through the medium of the old men who had been found in the mosque. This invitation, joined to the numberless inconveniences they were exposed to in the mountains, produced the desired effect, and the wanderers very soon began to return to their homes.

On the morning after our arrival, orders were given to some battalions to occupy the city, and the head-quarters transferred their residence from their kivitki to a *tower** contiguous to the mosque, and situated on the most elevated spot of the city, before which several field-pieces were placed, more with a view to intimidate than for any hostile purpose; for it was observed that, among the families who returned, there were scarcely any men, a circumstance which proved either mistrust or warlike intentions.

The dinner invitations of General Yermolow during a campaign are perfectly unceremonious; indeed, so much so, that the guests are often ignorant of the precise dinner-hour. In our way to the general's quarters, my comrade and myself, wishing to see something of the city, walked through several streets, in one of which we observed two women looking out of a balcony, and earnestly beckoning to us. We were the more surprised at their appearance, as we believed that the Mahometan women of the Caucasus, like

* In Asia the houses of noblemen are called *towers*.

those of Persia, were strictly confined to the interior of their houses, or that, at all events, they never went unveiled, a custom which we found was not general among the inhabitants of the Caucasus. We, however, entered the house, and saw in the court two Russian grenadiers, who, by a mistake of their corporal, had taken their quarters here, and whose presence was the cause of the inquietude manifested by the two ladies, who, with an old man, were the only inhabitants of the house. While the soldiers were explaining these things to us, they appeared at the top of the stairs, and again renewed their invitation by violent gesticulations. On a nearer approach, we guessed by their age that they were mother and daughter. The former, who still preserved much of the freshness and beauty of youth, wore very wide trowsers, a short tunic, and a veil, which fell in graceful folds on her back, while round her neck she had some valuable jewels, though badly mounted. With respect to the daughter, who was scarcely fifteen years of age, she was so extraordinarily beautiful, that both my companion and myself remained awhile motionless and struck with admiration. Never in my life have I seen a more perfect form. Her dress consisted of a short white tunic almost transparent, fastened only at the throat by a clasp. A veil, negligently thrown over one shoulder, permitted part of her beautiful ebony tresses to be seen. Her trowsers were of an extremely fine tissue, and her socks of the most delicate workmanship. The old man received us in a room adjoining the staircase: he was seated on the carpet, smoking a small pipe, according to the custom of the inhabitants of the Caucasus, who cultivate tobacco. He made repeated signs to us to sit down, that is to say, in the Asiatic manner, a posture extremely inconvenient for those who like ourselves wore long and tight trowsers, whilst the two beautiful women on their side earnestly seconded his request. We complied with it, though it was the first time that either of us had made the essay. The ladies, having left the room for a moment, returned with a salver of dried fruits, and a beverage made of sugar and milk; but I was so much engaged in admiring their personal attractions, that I paid but little attention to their presents. It appeared to me an inconceivable caprice of nature to have produced such prodigies of perfection amidst such a rude and barbarous people, who value their women less than their stirrups. My companion, who like myself was obliged to accept of their refreshments, remarked to me, whilst the old man was conversing with them, what celebrity a woman so transcendently beautiful as the daughter was, would acquire in any of the capitals of Europe, had she but received the benefits of a suitable education.

Having remained with them a short time, during which they repeatedly expressed their alarm at the sight of the military, who were seen about the streets, we endeavoured to quiet their apprehensions, and recommending the soldiers to protect them from any

insult, we left the house, to which I should often have returned, during my sojourn at Andreïewsky, had it not been that we were total strangers to each other's manners. We learned afterwards, that this family were not Mahometans, but belonged to those Jews who had settled many centuries back in the Caucasus.

As we proceeded through the streets, we met numerous families returning to their homes, among whom we saw many beautiful figures half veiled. As Andreïewsky is the only manufacturing town of the Tchetchenkis, and the wealthiest, the fear of having their houses plundered induced the inhabitants to return to the city; for, although the Russian soldiery are always objects of hatred to a Mussulman, as they have the reputation of never exercising the violences and outrages so common among these barbarous nations. the male population of the city, though as jealous of their women as the rest of the Asiatics, sent them first, deferring till the last moment their own return, which they believed would prove fatal to them; the assassinations, robberies, and cruelties of every kind which they had hitherto committed with impunity, strongly exciting their apprehensions.

On reaching the general's quarters, we found that the dinner had been ready an hour; but as he was on this day engaged in preparing his despatches for the Emperor, in which he usually gave the most circumstantial accounts of the operations of his army, we still found time to spare. General Yermolow, usually called by his Christian name, Alexis Petrowitch,* is always his own secretary. confidant, and counsellor. According to the opinion of several distinguished persons of the capital, his confidential correspondence with the Emperor Alexander is of the highest interest, as it is replete with sublime sentiments, patriotic views, disinterested advice, and impartiality; this modern Belisarius having no other ambition than the true prosperity of his country, and the splendour of his sovereign's throne.

While this indefatigable chief was thus engaged in his numerous duties, I walked with several officers in the garden belonging to the tower, which, being on an elevated situation, commanded many fine prospects. In passing through the dining-room I observed at the head of the table a plate of soup which was quite cold, and I was informed that the general never ate any thing hot, his dinner being usually served long before he sat down. In the mosque which is contiguous to the tower, and in which an obstinate resistance was made by the enemy, I picked up some parchments from Mecca, to make a present to the Jesuit of Mozdok.

On our return to the dining-room, I saw many more guests than

* The Russians, whatever be their rank, call each other by their Christian names thus, if even a drummer has occasion to mention the general in chief's name, he always says, Alexei Petrowitch. which in Russian means Alexis son of Peter.

seats, a circumstance which I was told was very common, as Yermolow received without any formality or etiquette whoever wished to make one at his table. But the servants easily supplied the want of seats, by placing on each side of the table wooden benches, which had been made by the soldiers, such articles of furniture being never used by the Asiatics. We were all waiting for the general to take our seats, (as the military etiquette of the Russians requires that every one should take his seat according to his rank,) when he entered, and having saluted us all with usual good humour, and without making any distinction, took his seat at the side of the table, and inviting some of the chiefs to sit near him, he requested the major and myself to sit at the head of the table.

Opposite to Yermolow was General Williaminoff; the rest of the guests sat down without any distinction. The general had finished his dinner before we had scarcely begun ours. He conversed familiarly with every one, and spoke to me of my journey from the capital, saying, that I was perhaps the first Spaniard who in our times had visited the Caucasus. In speaking of Spain he said, "It seems that in your country, people are sent to the Inquisition *tambour battant;* but how did you, major, succeed in slipping out with the same facility?" I replied, "*A pas de charge,* which alone could prove successful with the Inquisitors." He laughed, and treated the matter humorously, afterwards taking part in the conversation of General Williaminoff, who spoke of Llorente's work, on which Yermolow made many excellent observations. This was the first and last time that he ever spoke to me of Spain.

After dinner, we walked up and down before the tower, the general every moment inquiring of the persons whom he employed for the purpose, what number of families had returned from the mountains, in which he seemed to take a great interest. I thought, from all that I had heard respecting the treacherous character of the inhabitants of Asia, that General Yermolow appeared too careless of his personal safety, by absenting himself from us, and venturing beyond the reach of a sentry accompanied only by some of the country people, probably spies, who like the rest of the inhabitants of the Caucasus, never part with their daggers even in their sleep. I made this remark to some of the officers, who replied, that the general trusted so much to the respect which he inspired even to his most inveterate enemies, that he never thought of danger; and he was moreover persuaded, that were he to act otherwise, he would lose much of the *prestige* he enjoyed among a people, who prize nothing so highly as personal courage.

Yermolow spends most of his afternoons in active occupations, and generally in the company of the young aid-de-camps, whom he takes a pleasure in forming; but to none of whom he ever shows the least partiality, which frequently excites jealousy, and spreads disunion among the officers of an army. His orders, whether writ-

ten or verbal, are intrusted by him to the one who happens to be near his person.

I have learned from persons who have known General Yermolow from his youth, that he always took the greatest pleasure in literary pursuits, and is deeply read in the classics. It is not surprising then if, with his studious habits, he should detest both drinking and gambling, the last of which, so difficult to repress among his countrymen, he never tolerates. Indeed, it is the only thing in which he is intolerant, particularly if he feels any esteem for the person addicted to this vice.

In the evening, when the friends who form his society withdraw, and his occupations permit it, he returns to his books and papers; and as he never uses a watch, he seldom quits his studies till the sentry stationed near his window, who is purposely placed there by his friends, reminds him of the lateness of the hour, by the noise he makes when he is relieved. He then throws himself on his couch, and before the cannon announces the dawn, he is already on foot and visiting the camp. Such is the invariable conduct of a man bearing the weight of a multitude of cares, fatigues and responsibility, in the most extensive and complicated government of the Russian empire, especially at a time when its southern frontiers are in a state of insurrection. To treat the soldiers as if they were his own brothers; to spare their blood as much as possible, and ensure and consolidate their successes; to make himself loved and respected by all those under his orders; to be neither *rash* nor *timid*, as says the Latin motto of his coat of arms;—such is Alexeï Petrowitch to his friends and his enemies.

The baneful influence exerted by Russia in the affairs of my unhappy country, and the total impossibility of my again finding an asylum in that empire, must render unsuspected the sentiments which I here avow, and which are dictated only by a regard for truth and impartiality, and by the respect I feel for a man whose public and private virtues render him an object of general esteem and admiration, except only to a few envious courtiers, inimical to the true interests of their country.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Russian embassy to Persia—Houssein Kouli-Khan, Sardar of Erivan—Politic conduct of Yermolow in Persia—His disregard of etiquette at the court of Persia—Reception of the Russian embassy by the Shah—Picture of this magnificent scene—The Kasbek and Elborus, mountains of the Caucasus—Description of the chain of mountains—Character of the mountain tribes—Their love of war and pillage—The Lesghis—Barbarous habits of the Tchetchenkis—Their poniards—The Assetinians—Hermits—Kabardines, activity of this tribe in warfare—Lesghi Tartars—Their country described—Frontier provinces of Russia—Benefits accruing to the population of the Caucasus by the extension of the Russian power.

The extraordinary embassy sent by the emperor Alexander, after the European campaigns of 1813 and 1814, to the Shah of Persia, for the purpose of consolidating the late treaties of peace between the two potentates, was the real or supposed motive of General Yermolow's removal from St. Petersburgh. The interesting details of this mission are sufficiently known: they have been published by an officer who was an eye-witness, and who, having been my tent-companion, was on intimate terms with me. From him therefore, and from several other officers who formed part of this embassy, I have learned every circumstance connected with it; so that I hope I shall not be taxed with presumption, if I here point out certain errors into which some foreign writers have fallen (whether intentionally or not is best known to themselves) respecting the personal conduct of the ambassador, and that of the favourite of the Shah Houssein Kouli-Khan, Sardar of Erivan.

It is said that Yermolow required of this prince, even with a degree of insolence, that he should render him the same honours as were due to the Shah himself, a request to which Kouli-Khan acceded. They add, that the Russian ambassador, disregarding the ancient usages, so rigorously adhered to by the ambassadors of other great nations who had preceded him, abruptly refused to subscribe to them, though, it is asserted, that the etiquette at the court of Persia in appearing before the Shah, of taking off the boots or shoes instead of the hat, assuming a different constume, more or less ridiculous in the eyes of a European, sitting on the ground, &c., is held by the Persians as sacred. And it is further affirmed, that the conduct of the ambassador was not only contrary to the pacific intentions of Alexander, but goading to the Persian court, and greatly calculated to prevent a sincere reconciliation.

Houssein Kouli-Khan is the hero of Persia. The epithet of hero bears different significations according to the opinions of men and the customs of each country. The principal exploits of Kouli-Khan, however, consist in having committed the greatest horrors,

the most prominent of which is his having put out the eyes of several princes, to secure the crown for his present master. This hero, very naturally enjoys the confidence of his sovereign, and who also possesses great influence on the mind of Abbas Mirza, the presumptive heir to the throne, is the chief of the regular army of Persia. But notwithstanding his constant intercourse with French and English officers, who have at different times undertaken to organize and instruct his troops, Kouli-Khan has not, nor ever will have, the least knowledge of the military art. To be more rash than valiant; to manage a horse at the age of fifty-six as skilfully as the best horseman in Persia; constantly to be urging the Shah to a war with Russia, and when defeated to conclude a peace with the firm resolution of exciting to revolt, by the basest means, the tribes of the Caucasus, and of other provinces which form the boundaries of the empire; to abandon himself to every excess in voluptuousness and intemperance, to such a degree as to fall asleep in the presence of a diplomatic body, and that in open contravention to the divine laws of his religion,—are the public and private qualifications that recommended Kouli-Khan to the ambassador Yermolow.

It is a fact, that this general caused that proud hero of Persia, who boasted of bending his head only to the sun and his master, to come out and receive him, and that he thereby experienced a humiliation which in Persia is now used as a taunting proverb; but Yermolow knew, that the most effectual means of bringing about the reconciliation desired by the Emperor Alexander, was by treating the base flatterers and perfidious intriguers with whom he was going to negotiate in the manner he adopted. He knew, that the humiliation he subjected this favourite to, would heighten in the fantastical imaginations of the Persians the Russian power, which is the only conciliatory means that can be used with those destructive hordes, who never hesitate an instant in violating their treaties. Those however who know the personal character of Yermolow, and who are well acquainted with every circumstance connected with that embassy, know also that this general only adopted that conduct, which is indeed contrary to his real character, after very mature consideration; and that he never made a parade of arrogance and haughtiness in Persia, as many other ambassadors have done in nations *which are not in Asia*.

On General Yermolow arriving at the court of the Shah, he declared, previous to the solemn audience which that prince was to grant him, that neither he nor any one belonging to his suite could, in their character of military officers of Russia, subscribe to take off any part of their uniform, or in other words, submit to the Asiatic ceremony of taking off their boots, nor assume a cloak, however rich, or any other kind of foreign dress; nor, being a European, sit on the ground, as had been done by others through mere condescension. There is no doubt that this declaration wounded the

pride and deep-rooted fanaticism of the court of Persia, and that there were not wanting persons in it who construed it as a direct insult; yet General Yermolow was never made acquainted with the repugnance it created, though they endeavoured to obtain his consent to their wishes by employing flattery and cunning, the characteristic features of this nation. The time for the audience having arrived, the Shah received the ambassador according to the declaration made by the latter, and with all the pomp and magnificence displayed by those sovereigns on the most solemn occasions. The general and his suite entered with their boots and spurs on, according to Russian etiquette, without regarding whether the carpets of the Shah were richer than those in the palaces of their sovereign. The general was conducted to a richly embroidered arm-chair, the first article of this kind of furniture which had ever been seen in this place, and which proves that the repugnance on the part of the Shah could not have been so great, since he himself had ordered that seat to be made, and placed there for the ambassador, in honour to the august prince he represented.

I have seen the original picture taken on this occasion, in which the Shah is represented sitting according to the Eastern manner, his dress adorned with the finest diamonds and precious stones, some of which are concealed by his long black beard, so celebrated throughout this empire. On each side of the throne are seen standing his numerous children, symmetrically placed according to their size; opposite to him are some of his ministers, and at about the distance of twenty paces is the ambassador sitting in the splendid arm-chair, with his hat in his hand, surrounded by his numerous suite, all of them standing. On the left of the Shah, not far from the throne, are four lictors, armed with their hatchets, and standing beside a large basin of water, where fall the heads of those victims whom the Shah often capriciously condemns by an almost imperceptible sign to the lictors, whose presence appeared to be an integral part of this day's ceremony. During this audience the Shah lavished on the ambassador the most extravagant and fulsome compliments, comparing him to the sun and to the planets; he conferred on the whole of the Russian legation the Persian order of the sun, and decorated the general with the cordon of this order, giving him among other presents the richest *plaque* in turquoises and diamonds that was ever presented by him.

Though the treaties which gave rise to this embassy were then ratified by the Shah, the perfidious conduct of Persia, in great measure, invalidated them; and General Yermolow, who was immediately after that mission invested with the chief command of the army of Georgia, has met with many obstacles in the way of their execution. Without entering into details which would lead me far beyond my limits, I shall in the sequel say sufficient to prove, that the court of Persia never intended to observe those treaties, not-

withstanding the assurances of the agents* whom they are continually sending to Teflis, and even to St. Petersburgh, to justify their insidious conduct.

To return now to the subject of the Caucasus. This prodigious barrier between Europe and Asia offers on every side the most varied and picturesque scenery. The two principal mountains which crown this extensive chain, are the Kasbek, rising in the form of a sugar-loaf, and eternally covered with snow, and Elborus, which is a few leagues to the east from the former. The breadth of this chain differs considerably; but, even in its narrowest part, it is more than two hundred wersts across. There is a valley in its eastern part, called by the ancients Porta Cumana, which is above one hundred and fifty wersts in extent. From both sides of the Caucasus flow a great number of streams, which fertilize and embellish the country through which they wind their course, and which, as they unite, form considerable rivers. The mineral waters of these mountains are as abundant as they are efficacious in their virtues.

Nearly a million of men, capable of bearing arms in their kind of warfare, inhabit these mountains. Children only twelve years of age are often seen participating in the dangers and rapine of their fathers, while others of fourteen, already disabled by their wounds, are confined to their houses.

These mountaineers are divided into various tribes, differing in language, customs, and religion. Independence would be their idol, were they in a more advanced state of civilization; and were the internal dissensions to which they are constantly a prey, and which their fiery passions help to foment, to cease. But hitherto the characteristic marks of these tribes, more or less savage, are, a love of arms, and a decided inclination for pillage and assassination. Every thing concurs to prove, that these people, divided among themselves, and having an inveterate hatred of each other, have been strangers to the benefits of peace from the most remote periods of antiquity. They attack with a fury and impetuosity unknown even to the most warlike nations, and resist with the utmost desperation, often in their defeat biting off their tongues through rage at the disappointment. Vengeance, however, is the predominant passion of these mountaineers, who, if before dying they should have been unable to gratify

* During my residence in the Russian capital a Khan, sent by the Shah with several presents for the Emperor, arrived there. This personage received many civilities from several persons of the court, and was invited to their fetes, at one of which, given by an aid-de-camp of the Emperor, I was present. The customs of his country were so strictly observed towards him on this occasion, that every thing he could possibly desire had been anticipated. His entertainer presented me to him, believing that since he was shortly to return to his country we might possibly travel together, and I had afterwards many opportunities of seeing him. It was evident from the tenor of his conversation that fear alone, which he disguised under the name of respect for General Yermolow, was the true origin of his mission. In one of my visits to him he presented me with a pair of Persian embroidered boots, which I sent as a remembrance to General Mina, who was then an emigrant in Paris.

it, bequeath it in their last agonies to their children or their nearest relations, and this bequest is considered by them as a divine precept.

The Caucasian, impelled by his love for pillage, which indeed is his only means of support, follows the first bold chief who raises the war cry. In the ardour of his impetuous attack, he is seen confounded with his leader, and sharing all his dangers; but, like the corsairs, if he reap no real profit by his excursion, if he lose all hope of booty, he abandons him with as much indifference as he showed eagerness to follow him. Always uncertain of his own existence, he is a stranger to the pleasures of domestic life. Passionately fond of his personal independence, he is not linked by any moral feeling to those beautiful women with whom he lives, nor to the innocent children to whom he has given being. The greatest part of the inhabitants of the Caucasus never conceal their women from public view, whatever be the religion they profess; (a custom so rigorously observed in Persia, and in some provinces which at present belong to Russia;) on the contrary, they are indifferent about it, for they value them less than their horses. Hence when old age or infirmity compels them to abandon their career, the eldest son immediately takes possession of his father's arms and accoutrements, which descend from generation to generation, whilst the invalid veteran selects the darkest corner of the house, where he awaits the approach of death with a stoicism which would be very commendable, were it not the result of his uncivilized state.

The population of the Caucasus has been increased at five different epochs. The Lesghis, who from the remotest period of time have inhabited that country, and who still preserve their pristine manners, inhabit, at the present day, the most prosperous provinces of the Caucasus. The Georgians, the Monguls, the Arabs, and lastly the Tartars, are the others who have successively contributed to its population. Some of the inhabitants are still idolaters, a few Christians, and the majority Mahometans.

The princess of Georgia Tamar, interested in the destiny of these tribes, succeeded in introducing the Christian religion among several of them; but, some centuries after, when the Mahometans carried every where their victorious arms, Christianity gradually became extinct, and only a few ruins of churches now remain. The rest transmitted from one to another their respective religions, which they still preserve unchanged. The Scotch missionaries, who some years ago visited the Caucasus with the view of propagating the Christian religion, did not obtain the favourable result which they had anticipated; neither have the efforts of the Jesuits been more successful.

The Tchetchenkis are, of all the tribes of the Caucasus, the most addicted to pillage. Their houses are generally very uncomfortable hovels; a skin spread before the fire serves them for a bed, and their food consists of an indigestive kind of bread scarcely baked

upon heated stones, and of meat which they eat almost raw. When a Tchetchenki gets any brandy, which he only obtains by plunder, as none is ever made in this country, he is so enraptured with it, that he believes himself transported into a paradise of delights. He drinks till he is intoxicated, and then all the other excesses follow.

His predatory life does not allow him to devote any of his time to agriculture; and the manufactures of the capital consist only of such articles as are necessary for the warfare in which he is constantly engaged. Hence nothing else is seen there but arms, ammunition, horse-accoutrements, &c.; the lace and other ornaments of the dresses of the chiefs and nobles being worked by the women. A little barley, scarcely any wheat, some tobacco, and a great quantity of onions, constitute the whole produce of their agricultural labours; nature, which is here so prodigal of its bounties, bestows the rest. Whilst the men are engaged in hunting, or in their freebooting excursions, or in rioting in every excess, far from their homes, to which they seldom return without some spoils, or a human prey, who is obliged to drag his wretched existence in slavery; their women occupy themselves in the household affairs, and in the care of their children.

The Tchetchenkis are commonly of a lower stature than the Tartars, who inhabit the other side of the mountains; but they are equally robust and cunning. Their weapons consist of a gun, a pistol, a poniard, and sometimes a sabre. The lance and the arrow are not common among these mountaineers, these arms being chiefly used by the inhabitants of the plains. As they are in the habit of never parting with their weapons, especially with their poniard, which night and day they have at their side, the manner of wearing it marking the degree of martial elegance among them, their usual attitude, even at home, is to be grasping its hilt. This weapon is the most dreadful of any used by these men. The smallest blade is a foot and a half long, and has two edges, so very sharp, that it might serve the purpose of a razor. The greatest part of the blade is impregnated with a venomous composition which renders every wound mortal. In cases where their ruin appears inevitable, they either plunge the poniard in their own bosoms or throw it with great skill at their nearest adversary.

The costume of all the northern tribes of the Caucasus is similar to that of the Circassians or Tcherkesses.

The Assetinians are not such a freebooting race as the Tchetchenkis; but, according to the report of persons who know them well, they, if possible, surpass all others in rancour and revenge; of which the following is a specimen. An Assetinian, whose father had been murdered while he was still an infant, avenged his father's death on the assassin, as soon as he found himself strong enough to cope with his adversary; and, having thus gratified his feelings of revenge, carried to his home the orphan child of the man he had

sacrificed, and intrusted it to the care of his wife. This child, who was then but a few years old, grew up in the house of his self-constituted tutor, whose blood he then spilt to avenge the death of his father.

The Assetinians cultivate rice, which is their principal food. Their houses, customs, &c. are the same as those of the Tchetchenkis. Their arms are still finer, and are bequeathed from father to son as the most sacred inheritance; hence the great antiquity of those which have frequently been taken from them in the field of battle. If the rapacity of the Persians, and their predilection for the women of these countries, had not caused the frightful scenes of which till the present time Georgia has been the theatre, and obliged its princes to place themselves under the protection of a Christian Empire, they might, being in good intelligence with the Georgians and the Assetinians, who are in possession of all the defiles of the Caucasus, have rendered fruitless any attempt on the part of Russia to cross this barrier, whatever might have been the force employed to attain it. On the summit of the highest rocks, particularly in the country of the Assetinians, and where it seems impossible for any human being to climb, live some hermits, of different religions, in the cavities of the rocks; but where they by no means spend a life of abstinence, as their superstitious countrymen place within their reach all sorts of provisions, and feed the idleness in which these saints live.

The Assetinians enjoy at present a state of peace, hunting and tending of cattle being their principal occupations.

On each side of the military road of Mozdok near the entrance of the defiles are two tribes, known by the name of the Great and Little Kabarda, professing the Mahometan religion, who are more skilful horsemen than the Tchetchenkis, and occupy the Asiatic side of the Terak. Their principal arms are a long gun and a sabre. Some of their chiefs wear a coat of mail. They make use of the gun only in their flight through the plains, when, hooking the bridle on the pummel of their saddle, they manage their gun with both hands, and, turning on their short stirrups, take so good an aim that they seldom fail in hitting the object of their mark at an ordinary distance, even at full gallop.

The country of the Lesghi Tartars, who occupy the greatest part of the opposite side of the mountains, extends to a considerable distance towards the Daghestan. The generality of these people are distinguished by their industrious habits, martial spirit, and the prodigious skill and agility with which they manage their horses and their arms in the steepest acclivities of the mountains. Their costume is the same as the Persians and Georgians. Their character is circumspect and reserved, prudent in their popular deliberations, zealous in their observance of the law of the prophet, and careful of their women.

There are other tribes extending from the country of the Lesghis to the Daghestan. Shirvan and Karawah are the principal provinces incorporated with the Russian empire, and forming the limits of Persia.

All these numerous tribes, however, may be divided into three classes; namely, the Tcherkesses, or Circassians, the Kabardines and the Tchetchenkis, who occupy the northern side of the Caucasus, the Assetinians, who are on the road to Teflis, and who in fact belong to the Georgian family, and the Lesghis, who inhabit the eastern side of that chain of mountains.

With respect to those tribes who are to the west of Mozdok, it appears that Russia has made treaties with the Divan; but the bad faith of the Porte, and still more its own interest, are the cause that these nations still remain in the most deplorable state of barbarism; so that the complete pacification of the Caucasus is a source of more trouble and expense to Russia, than might be a triumphal entry into Constantinople. Her unremitting efforts to attain this object, therefore, are entitled to the praises of the enlightened and Christian nations of Europe, as it cannot be disputed that the greatest benefit which can be rendered to humanity is to introduce civilization into countries whose inhabitants, now wanderers, now slaves, and always at war with each other, perpetually renew the scenes of cruelty of the dark ages, disregard the rights of property, outrage the best feelings of man, tear asunder the closest ties of society, and delight only in lasciviousness, plunder, and assassination.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Russian army in Georgia—Military operations—The author sets out for Teflis the capital of Georgia—Bad discipline of the Asiatic troops in the Russian service—Schalkowskoïe—Fogs—Cloaks denominated Bourkas—Military contingents—Service by the Cossacs of the Don, and of the Terak—Wine of Kislar—The author arrives at Mozdok and revisits the Jesuit Henri—Conversations with the latter—Anecdote.

THE Caucasus was still in a state of insurrection, in consequence of the late war between Russia and Persia, when General Yermolow was invested with the government of those provinces. The regular troops, notwithstanding the annual reinforcement sent to the different armies of the empire, did not amount to three complete divisions. The constant intrigues of the Persians, who, though they had subscribed by the late treaty of peace to the cession of some of the frontier provinces, still continued to encourage revolt, rendered necessary the military occupation of several importan

points, and consequently fresh additions to the army of Georgia. The Emperor Alexander, who according to general opinion wished to remove from the centre of his states those soldiers who on account of their residence in France had imbibed notions at variance with passive obedience, ordered a great part of the infantry who had served under the command of Count Woronzoff to proceed to Georgia.

General Yermolow, who was daily expecting the arrival of these troops, quitted Teflis, the capital of Georgia, where he left his second in command Lieutenant-general Willianninoff, brother to the chief of the staff, intrusted with the care of this province, and, crossing the Caucasus, undertook in person the first operations against those mountaineers who inhabited the northern side of the Caucasus, and whose lawless conduct called for immediate coercion. The plan which this general proposed to follow in order to repress their plundering excursions, protect the troops either stationary or transitory, cause the authority, which they themselves should establish, to be respected, and shelter their more peaceable neighbours from their outrages, was by means of a chain of redoubts and fortresses established throughout the country.

The obstinacy of the Tchetchenkis in persevering in their marauding system, which their priests fomented by promulgating as a divine precept, that God, after the creation of the world, authorized the inhabitants of the Caucasus to live at the expense of their neighbours, and their influence on the Kabardines, with whom they occasionally unite to attack the Christian colonies who are established on the line of the Terak, were the motives that induced General Yermolow to commence here his operations. Immediately on his arrival at the capital, he ordered that fortifications should be raised, not only in front of the city, but in all the principal avenues to the mountains, and communicating with the Terak, a measure the more necessary, as the troops after the battle which decided the success of his expedition having remained some time at Andreïewsky, and the resources of the country being extremely scanty, all the provisions were to be brought from the line of the Terak.

I had already spent three days at Andreïewsky, when the general-in-chief delivered to me some despatches for his second at Teflis, from which city I was to proceed to the place where my regiment was quartered. A flying column being on the point of proceeding on an inferior expedition in my road, under the orders of Count Tolstaï, one of Yermolow's aid-de-camps, I profited of this opportunity and left head-quarters on the evening of the 10th. This column was composed of one thousand infantry and three hundred horsemen, some of whom belonged to the squadrons contributed by the colonies of the Terak, and others were Tcherkesses and Tchetchenkis, who served in the Russian army. Not far from Andreïewsky, after crossing the mountains, there is a vast plain which extends

without interruption as far as the Terak. Beyond it is a redoubt, where we halted for the night. This was the first time I had travelled with this kind of troops. The most irregular guerillas of the army of the Faith in Spain could not be compared with them, so great was the disorder, noise, and dispersion of these Asiatics. It is impossible they could have been of any advantage, had the enemy not been as undisciplined as themselves.

The Cossacks of the Terak are most of them commanded, during active service, by officers drawn from the regular Russian cavalry. When they are with the regular army, their discipline and subordination equal those of the Russian soldiers; but, once united with the mountaineers, they easily catch the contagion. Although I could not understand a word of the mixture of languages of these different horsemen, I could easily perceive that the secret of the expedition of this column would not remain long unrevealed on their becoming acquainted with it.

We spent the night in the redoubt, a prey to continual alarms, occasioned by the firing of arms, and tumult of these Asiatics. In the morning, when the hour of our departure arrived, neither the example of the regular troops nor that of the Cossacks was sufficient to induce them to collect their horses, which, like themselves, were seen running about in all directions. The task of introducing the European discipline among the Mussulmans is likely to prove always unsuccessful, as it is an idea prevalent, not only among these tribes, but even among the Tartars and the Persians, that the true merit of a warrior consists in his personal courage, and that the military tactics of the Europeans are the result of their cowardice. Not all the examples and the severe lessons they have received are sufficient to convince them of the advantages of discipline; for, when they are defeated, they attribute it to the displeasure of Heaven.

On the 11th, at about noon, I parted from the column with eight Cossacks, assigned me by the chief of the column for my escort. A courier, who was carrying despatches to the Emperor, accompanied me as far as Schalkowskoïe, where we arrived at night-fall. He immediately proceeded on his journey, and I passed the night at the same house where I had previously lodged. The Russian couriers have the rank of officers, and ascend according to their merit; they wear a very simple uniform, and, for the better security of the despatches with which they are intrusted, they constantly carry, fastened to the chest by means of straps, a leather portfolio, with a lock, a key of which is kept at the offices of the ministry. They are obliged to travel night and day in a telega. Some couriers have travelled from the head-quarters of the Caucasus to St. Petersburgh in ten days.

At Schalkowskoïe, I met at the house of a Russian lady a young French woman, who had abandoned her home at Nancy, and fol-

lowed a Russian officer of the number of those who had lately arrived at the Caucasus, and who had been obliged to leave her at this place, far from the field of operations. Notwithstanding her pretty figure, her national amiability, and her studied toilet, she by no means shone in this country, which may be properly called *the nursery of beauties;* but she took her revenge by saying witty things, and making satires on the rusticity of her rivals.

I left Schalkowskoïe on the following day, with such a thick fog as scarcely to permit us seeing our way, and which is very frequent on the borders of the Terak. But when a traveller is fortunate enough to pass this way on a clear day, the scenery, which shifts at every step, presents the most magnificent prospects, varied by the numberless configurations of the Caucasus.

My host of Schalkowskoïe had procured me a kind of black cloak, called Bourka, of very thick cloth, truly water-proof, and resisting even the cut of a sabre. These cloaks are manufactured by the Lesghis, are fastened at the neck by two rings and a hand kerchief, or a strap, and are very generally used by the inhabitants of the Caucasus, Georgia, and Persia. They have likewise been adopted by the Russians who serve in this country, and are as useful in the march as in the bivouac.

My escort was composed of four Cossacks, who, accustomed to the sudden attacks and ambuscades of the Tchetchenkis during the fog, proceeded through the forest on each side of me, with their gun in hand, ready to fire at the first onset. Having traversed this perilous forest without meeting with any accident, we arrived at a military station, the commandant of which invited me to breakfast with him, and another comrade of his, called Yefimowitch, who had just arrived from head-quarters, and with whom I had become acquainted there. I afterwards continued my journey in the company of the latter, conversing on the different objects we had met in our travels.

All the colonists of the Terak, who occupy an extent of land of more than a hundred wersts, are formed into squadrons for active service, in which they are enlisted from fifteen to fifty years of age. Besides the escorts which they are bound to give to the convoys, officers, and couriers, as well as other local assistance which they must furnish during the passage of troops, in common with all the different countries of the empire, such as lodging, firing, &c., they are bound to keep always in readiness the third part of their military force, which is relieved from time to time by an equal number, that the agricultural labours and other domestic occupations may not be neglected; for the produce of the general industry is equally divided among them all. These Cossacks, moreover, furnish to the troops on the eastern side of the Caucasus a contingent of one or two squadrons per quarter.

General Yermolow, well aware of the advantages which may be

obtained from the good dispositions of these new colonists, and wishing to increase the artillery, caused some companies of Cossacks to be formed, whose services I shall have hereafter an opportunity of mentioning.

The Cossacks* of the Terak when they are in active service receive a small pay, with which they manage to live and keep their horses. Here they build and repair their own houses, as well as those of their officers and chiefs, which are all constructed of wood, the neighbourhood furnishing a great abundance. When provisions are to be transported in great quantities, the cattle of the neighbouring Kalmucks are put in requisition, to avoid the serious injury which would otherwise be sustained by a colony which may be said to be yet in its infancy.

The Cossacks of the Terak offer the strongest contrast, by their laborious habits, probity, and subordination, to their plundering neighbours of the mountains, in whose pacification none are more interested than these colonists. All the Tchetchenkis, however, who had escaped from the route of Andreiewsky had thrown themselves on that side of the Terak which constitutes the furthest limits of their country. Parties of Cossacks were incessantly detached against them from the opposite bank, who seldom returned from their excursions without some trophies or booty. As we proceeded on our way, we met at various distances markets of horses taken from the enemy, and about noon we arrived amidst this kind of fair at a small place twenty wersts from Naur, where my companion Yefimowitch resided, and had some colonists under his orders. His house had only one floor; but the four rooms which it contained were well distributed, nor was the furniture so contemptible, though the greatest part of it had been made by the colonists. His attendants served us dinner with as much cleanliness as activity. This was the first time I remarked the excellent flavour of the wine of Kislar, which I had been drinking since my arrival in this country: it tastes very like that of Rioja in Spain, which like the former is little known to foreigners. During dinner I spoke to this officer of the Jesuits of Mozdok, to ascertain from him how they were looked upon in the country. Yefimowitch, who, without being a Catholic, knew them, passed many eulogies, especially on Father Henri, whose virtues and prudent conduct, he said, had gained him the esteem of the whole country, giving it as his opinion, that both were useful instruments for ameliorating the moral conduct of the people, particularly as they never meddled with politics, as most of the members of their society are in the habit of doing.

Having parted from Commandant Yefimowitch before sunset, I reached Naur at night, and at day-break set off with my escort for

* When a Cossack is mentioned, be it of the Don or of the Terak, it is always understood to be a man on horseback; for neither of them ever serves on foot, except in his own country.

Mozdok, where I arrived before noon. "What do you bring for me, my dear major?" was the first question Father Henri put to me on my alighting at the door of his dwelling. I answered that I brought him a curiosity, to which he said he hoped it was not the ears of some Tchetchensky; and when I told him that it was a parchment of Mecca which I had taken in the mosque of Andreïewsky on purpose for him, and which, as he knew Arabic, would afford him some amusement, he added, "Oh, give it me, give it me; I will send it with the translation to my superiors as a remembrance from a Catholic Spaniard. Well!" continued he after receiving the parchment, "how do you find Yermolow?"

Aware of the import of this question I answered it in the most laconic manner. "You little know the cameleon you have but just seen," said he, and then proceeded to relate several political anecdotes relative to the Emperor and this general, and which as I am not certain they are true, I omit. He then added, that the only way which Alexander could devise to remove this general from his person was by bestowing on him the chief command of this army of madmen, who, like their chief, would fall victims to the savages against whom they were fighting. "Yermolow," he concluded, "with all his policy, hates every foreigner, he cannot endure the Poles, and, whether heretic or no, he detests the priests. He is aware, however, of the benefit which the whole world has derived from our society; he himself has owned this a thousand times to me, yet were he at St. Petersburgh, like the rest, would contribute to the blow which threatens the fathers in Russia, in contempt of the benefits which the Tzars have received from the Pope."

It was easy for me to guess the benefits to which Father Henri alluded, and I replied, that I could not see the connexion between the events of the seventeenth century, and the good or bad qualities of General Yermolow. "When you become intimate with the Catholic officers who serve in the army of the Caucasus, you will perceive your error and agree with me respecting this general."

Wishing to put an end to this subject, I told him that a foreigner who came to serve in the Russian army ought not to scrutinize the private conduct of his chief, as his duties were confined to obedience, and the rendering himself useful; but I could not help expressing some surprise that a man whom every impartial person represented as a model of virtue, religion, and hospitality, and who was in fact so, should so suddenly overstep his natural modesty when the conversation turned on political matters, which indeed are so foreign to the true ministry of a clergyman. To this Father Henri replied, with all his French vivacity, "What would become of our society were we not to meddle with temporal affairs? Do you know what a French lady said at the time of the Revolution to Buonaparte, when he manifested some displeasure at hearing the ladies talk politics? 'When ladies,' said she, 'lose their heads by the guillotine,

it is high time they should talk politics.' When we are expelled from every state, and are to be reduced to the condition of a wandering tribe, it is high time, major, that the fathers of our society should interfere with politics."

On the following day after my arrival at Mozdok, and previous to my departure, Father Henri conducted me to a church which was then constructing, and requested me to make him a drawing for the altar-piece. To this I acceded with pleasure, adding a small gift towards the completion of this edifice, which was all that the missionary would accept from me in return for his hospitality. I then bade him farewell and left Mozdok.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Appearance of the country near the river Terak—Game—Large Eagle—Redoubt of Elizabeth—The Kabardines—Town and fort of Wladi Caucasus—Pure atmosphere—The mountain-passes—Balta—Romantic scenery—Redoubt of Larskoi—Extraordinary rock and ancient fortress—Darial redoubt in the gorges of the Caucasus—Course of the Terak—Mount Kasbek—Avalanches—Village of Kasbek—Kobi—Hill of St Christopher—Descent of the mountains at Kaichaw—River Aragua—Perpetual spring—Enchanting valleys of Georgia—Greek church at Ananur—Description of Georgia—Douchet—Meskhet—River Kur—The idol Armaasm—Arrival at Teflis.

Beyond Mozdok, and before crossing the Terak, travellers coming from Georgia are obliged to perform quarantine, whilst those coming from the south meet on the opposite side with a similar impediment. General Yermolow has established several other quarantines as far as Teflis and throughout Georgia, with the view of preventing the introduction of the plague, which previous to his government had frequently been brought to this country by its neighbours, the Turks and the Persians. I crossed the Terak in a barge, and arrived early in the afternoon at the place of quarantine, where I underwent but a slight examination, as no danger was to be apprehended from the direction I came.

From the river Terak to the foot of the Caucasus, there are three important military posts; namely, the redoubt of Constantine, which is thirty-three wersts from the river; that of Elizabeth, twenty-eight wersts further; and the fortress of Wladi Caucasus, twenty-two wersts from the last. Every day at dawn a convoy, consisting of from a hundred and fifty to three hundred men, and almost always with a field-piece, proceeds from one point to the other, a very necessary precaution to prevent any audacious attack from the bands of Kabardines and Tcherkesses, who overrun the country on each side of the road.

I left the place of quarantine the next morning with the convoy, which did not reach till noon the first redoubt, where I was obliged to pass the night, in order to proceed in the same order of march on the following day. The troops stationed in these redoubts are very well lodged; and, as these places likewise serve to shelter the Armenian merchants and other travellers in their journey through this country, there are inns, kept by Russians, or by people of the country, which are generally well provided with all sorts of provisions. The soldiers have, near the redoubts, gardens, which they cultivate for their own use; and, as in every military cantonment in Russia, vapour-baths, which are much in use among the Russians.

Between Mozdok and Wladi Caucasus, there are two extensive plains, intersected by a long chain of mountains of the second order, running almost parallel with the principal chain, and crowned with thick forests. From their summit is seen the redoubt of Constantine, and the line of the Terak. Game is so abundant here, that if the good order which ought to be observed in a convoy did not prevent the travellers from shooting, they alone would be able to furnish daily sufficient game for the troops of the redoubt. As I was walking at a short distance from the vanguard, I observed something dark not far off, which I at first believed to be some men in ambush, but which, on a nearer approach, proved to be an immense eagle, that did not offer to stir, though we passed within pistol-shot of it.

The redoubt of Elizabeth, where we arrived on the following day, is situated in a plain, the soil of which is less fertile than that of the former. The first redoubt constructed by the Russians in this place, more than twenty years ago, was taken, after an obstinate resistance, by the Kabardines and the Tcherkesses, who reduced it to ruins. Near the redoubt are seen at present some hovels of Kabardines, who are living under the protection of the government. Having forgotten the key of my portmanteau in the redoubt of Constantine, and mentioned it to one of the officers stationed here, he spoke to a Kabardine, who offered to bring it to me in a few hours. This man presented himself to me on horseback, and wore a white band round his flat black cap, which I was told was a distinctive mark of a Kabardine priest.* On the following morning, at day-break, the key was in my possession; but the good Mahometan minister, with whom I was advised to make no agreement lest he should think I mistrusted him, made me pay very dearly for his nocturnal journey.

Half-way between Elizabeth and Wladi Caucasus, the river Terak flows at a short distance from the road. On the banks of this river are seen some hamlets of Kabardines, who, though submitted to the authority established here, are in the habit of shelter-

* This same mark is worn among the other tribes of the Caucasus by the Mussulmans who have been at Mecca.

ing their marauding countrymen; a circumstance which renders travelling, even in sight of this fortress, unsafe.

We arrived before noon at Wladi Caucasus, which means, in Russian, the empire of the Caucasus, probably because it is the gate of the only practicable passage through these mountains. This town, which is but newly built on a very regular plan, offers a striking contrast to the other places in this country. There is a military hospital, very advantageously situated with respect to salubrity; and, as Wladi Caucasus is the residence of several families of employés, the society is a great inducement for any officer or traveller whose duties do not render his immediate departure necessary, to make a short stay in this place. The commandant of Wladi Caucasus, who is usually a colonel or a major-general, inhabits a house belonging to government, situated in the finest part of the town, the walls of which are bathed by the Terak, which is again crossed by a wooden bridge. The many forests abounding with game, by which Wladi Caucasus is surrounded, the fertility of the neighbouring country, and the purity of the atmosphere, all contribute to make this city the most agreeable place of residence.

I left Wladi Caucasus the day after my arrival with an escort of twenty infantry and two Cossacks, who accompanied me as far as a small Assetinian village called Balta, where there is a redoubt, in which I passed the night.

After crossing the Terak, all the posts as far as the frontiers of Persia are served by Cossacks of the Don, who furnish the army of Georgia with several regular squadrons, more or less numerous according to circumstances. These men do not only escort the travellers, but furnish them with horses, for which they are paid at the same rate as if they belonged to the post. In all the stations of Cossacks which are without the redoubts, there is a watch-house built of wood, in which a sentry is always posted to observe the surrounding country. From Wladi Caucasus till after crossing the defiles and the mountains, the escorts of infantry are relieved at short distances, the chain of redoubts maintaining an active communication, and contributing to the safety of the road.

This from the above place to Balta proceeds along the brow of the mountains, and will only attract the attention of those who have not seen the Pyrenees or the Alps; but beyond that redoubt every step offers a prodigy of nature or of art. When the rigour of the season, which in the Caucasus lasts from the month of November till March, is passed, the usual day's journey is from Balta to Kobek, a distance of twenty-five wersts. Several small villages perched in places almost inaccessible are passed, as well as two redoubts, the first of which is called Larskoi, and the second Dariel. On descending the height on which Balta stands, the road, the construction of which must have cost immense labour, passes through steep rocks, among which the Terak flows compressed in a

a narrow channel. Beyond it there is a natural arch formed by a rock extending eight or ten paces, and as the road proceeds along the borders of the impetuous torrent, its foaming waters fall in showers, scattering themselves over the road. From this spot is seen, on a great elevation, the redoubt Larskoï, beyond which the defiles as far as Darial are of such a nature, that a hundred men standing on the summits of the inaccessible rocks which form them, and hurling down missiles, would suffice to arrest the progress of the most formidable army, especially as there is no avenue by which those heights might be turned. In many parts of the road the rocks meet and form an archway, whose wide fissures and cleft vaults seem as if they would every moment obstruct it. On leaving these defiles behind, and before reaching the redoubt of Darial, the Terak is again crossed by a bridge. Opposite to the entrance of the defile, and within a short distance of the bridge, rises in the middle of the river a rock seven hundred feet in height, on the summit of which is an old fortress, which for many ages has commanded this passage. By placing on it a few cannon, and destroying the bridge, no human power could cross the Caucasus.

If on one side we are struck with awe at the work of nature, on the other we are no less surprised at seeing built on such a height a fortress which was provided with water by an aqueduct, the remains of which are still perceivable, and a vaulted road descending to the river. On the summit of the rock the soil, which is capable of cultivation, would maintain a garrison of eight hundred men.

Darial in the Tartar language means a gate, and certainly no name could be more appropriate for this place, where the traveller is ocularly convinced of the horrible tyranny which Persia must have exercised over Georgia to oblige her to cut a passage through the Caucasus, in order to communicate with the empire to which its provinces now belong. Indeed, General Yermolow has done every thing in his power to open a road through the Daghestan; but I shall have an opportunity of mentioning in the sequel the serious obstacles which oppose themselves to its execution.

The commandant of the redoubt Darial, which is not far from the bridge, invited me, as a good comrade, to dine with him, and I own that had I been able to spend a day in the redoubt without inconveniencing him, I should have done so with the greatest pleasure, so intense was my curiosity to see more of this interesting country, into which my entry was marked by an eclipse of the moon. This coincidence made the deepest impression on my imagination, which, excited as it was by the imposing objects that surrounded me, made me at the moment forget the simple causes which originated this partial darkness, and raised a thousand strange ideas in my mind. This, when we consider that the sight of the

Caucasus alone produces on every admirer of nature an almost supernatural impression, is by no means extraordinary.

After Darial the road offers a different aspect; but, if possible, more imposing. On the right the Terak flows with an astounding noise, rendered more frightful by the deep silence that reigns in these solitudes, and loudly re-echoed on the left by the rocks, piled one above another, and which increase in height as we advanced.

Two wersts further the immense mount Kasbek is seen, rising in the form of a sugar-loaf, from the summit of which avalanches detach themselves almost yearly, and obstruct the road in such a manner that only a narrow passage resembling a cavern is left for the traveller, and through which one proceeds as over a sheet of ice, until within one werst of the place called Kasbek. This kind of road offers many obstacles to the artillery, or to any sort of vehicle, and is altogether impracticable during the fall of the avalanches, when the travellers are obliged to pass by means of ropes, in the use of which the Assetinians excel. It is not the pen but the pencil that can sketch the extraordinary aspect presented by that immense mass of snow furrowed by the waters of the Terak, which, dashing themselves from a succession of cascades, keep up a continual roaring truly awful in those rocky defiles.

Although from Darial to Kasbek there is only seven wersts, they occupied me four hours, not so much on account of the difficulties offered by the road, as because my attention was continually attracted either by the enormous precipices, down which the impetuous torrent rushed, and whose foam surpassed in whiteness that of the snow by which the mountains were covered, or by the diversity of shapes presented by the rocks.

The small village of Kasbek is surrounded by meadow-land, which affords pasture to the cattle of the few inhabitants of this place, where I found a much better lodging than I expected at the house of the late Colonel Kasbek, whose family is one of the most ancient of the Caucasus; indeed so ancient, that it derived its name from the mountain, and descends from one of the chiefs of the Assetinians. This family profess the Greek religion, and the women have all the shyness of the Georgian females. They sent me a bottle of wine of their own vintage, which greatly resembled Madeira both in taste and colour; and when I went to present my respects to them and thank them for their civilities, they all ran away, and hid themselves as if they saw a ghost.

My apartment consisted of a saloon, furnished in the European style, and which had been destined by the colonel, who was a man much attached to the Russians, for the greater convenience of travellers. It was altogether detached from the tower, and did not resemble the latter either in the interior or exterior of its apartments, where I could see the shadows of the women gliding like phantoms to and fro. From the window of my saloon I had a full view of the

mountain Kasbek, whose shining peak, illuminated by the rays of a clear moon, permitted me to distinguish, notwithstanding its being at the distance of thirty wersts, the snows drifted by the wind, which perpetually reigns in those regions, and falling in masses down its perpendicular sides. I was here told that an English traveller, having prepared himself with every thing he stood in need of for the ascent, succeeded in reaching, accompanied by a guide, about the middle of the mountain; but, when he attempted to ascend higher, the pain he felt in the chest and ears was so great, that he was obliged to content himself with leaving a mark, and retrace his steps. It is asserted that the Kasbek is one of the three highest points of the globe.

The village of Kasbek contains above three hundred inhabitants. the greatest part of whom are shepherds and vassals of the present proprietor, the son of the late colonel. The party of Cossacks, which is the only troop stationed here, as the inhabitants excite no apprehensions, all of them being Christians, are quartered in a house contiguous to that of the lord of the village. Hurricanes are here very frequent, either on account of the proximity to the mountain, or of the great elevation on which the village stands. One of them was experienced on the night of my sojourn here, and shook my apartment so much, that notwithstanding the solidity with which it was built, I expected at every moment to be buried under its ruins.

I left Kasbek on the following morning at day-break, although the account I received respecting the state of the road was by no means encouraging, and although the rain and the wind were both high and violent. My escort consisted only of six Cossacks belonging to this station; but it was sufficient, as we had no danger to apprehend. The road from the above village to Kobi, which is seventeen wersts distant, offers nothing very remarkable, except that the country is a little more open. On the right of the road and in a small valley stands the redoubt of Kobi, where travellers find tolerably good lodgings, and a magazine of provisions, kept by a Russian, not very well provided.

Beyond Kobi is a high mountain, over which the road passes, and at the foot of which are some ferruginous waters, which have restored to health many persons who in Georgia were thought incurable. Although we were on horseback, and followed by a small escort of infantry accustomed to march in these places, we spent seven hours in performing seventeen wersts, which is the distance between Kobi and Kaichaur. The mountain we ascended, which is called Kristogara, or St. Christopher, is the most elevated point the traveller meets in crossing the Caucasus. There is on the summit a wooden cross, and a cabin inhabited by an Assetinian family. At this point the course of the rivers which flow through the valleys of the Caucasus takes an opposite direction. The wind, which during the whole day was very high, and which on the top of

the mountain blew furiously, gave me a tolerable idea of what it must be in the middle of winter, when, according to the account I received from the officers of the redoubt, travelling in vehicles is quite impracticable, notwithstanding the excellence of the road, which has as much width and solidity as any in the empire. Indeed, the whole passage throughout these mountains is so obstructed during that season, that the extraordinary couriers sent from Teflis to St. Petersburgh, are obliged to make use of ropes and other contrivances to effect their passage through these defiles.

The head of the Assetinian family established on the summit of St. Christopher, and whose good will I gained by presenting him with some brandy, a liquor of which the Assetinians are passionately fond, accompanied me as far as the redoubt, and, as I was informed, had rendered many useful services to travellers, particularly in winter, when, to the great astonishment of all, his hut and family have hitherto resisted the excessive rigours of winter in that unsheltered situation, where they are almost buried in the snow. These attentions on his part are the more singular; as, besides what I have already said respecting the character of the Assetinians, it is not long since some of his countrymen assassinated in the most cruel manner all the Russian soldiers whom they could surprise in those difficult passages. It is necessary to have all the avarice of the Armenian merchants to support, with still more patience than their own beasts, the painful conveyance of their merchandise; preferring the numberless inconveniences of this road, rather than give the least gratification to the inhabitants of the country, who might afford them such effectual assistance, and who would thereby take an interest in the success of their undertakings; while at present it is only by the presence of the troops that the mountaineers are prevented from plundering them.

On the following day I set off, accompanied by four Cossacks, and with remarkably fine weather to cheer my journey. We began descending the immense elevation on which Kaichaur is situated, and which is the last difficult passage of the Caucasus; when, two hours after leaving that place, in exchange for the terrific beauties of nature, the most varied and enchanting scenery presented itself. At the bottom of the precipices, which we were now leaving in the rear, are seen scattered about several small villages and fertile valleys, watered by the river Aragua, which has its source near St. Christopher, and which flows in an opposite direction to the Terek. In these valleys, which enjoy an eternal spring, the mildness of the temperature formed the most striking contrast with the excessive cold which is felt during the crossing of St. Christopher, even in summer; and in proportion as we advanced, Georgia burst on my sight, covered, like Andalusia, with luxuriant fields, and hills crowned with woods, on many of which are seen the ruins of old towers and ancient fortresses. Even in the month of September the trees still

preserved the freshness of spring, while the harmonious warblings of an immense variety of birds, seemed to announce that we were on the point of treading on the favourite soil of the Creator of the Caucasus.

On the long descent of Kaichaur being terminated, we crossed the Aragua by a bridge, on one side of which stands a pyramid of stone, marking the limits between the Assetinian territory and Georgia; and at eleven o'clock in the morning we arrived at Passananur, the first village or redoubt which is met with in following the course of the Aragua, the borders of which are pleasantly wooded. The fine sky of Georgia makes a lively impression on the traveller, though he may have been born under that which embellishes the smiling borders of the Guadalquivir; as do also the cheerful countenances and fine stature of the Georgians, contrasted with the gloomy air and mean appearance of the mountaineers.

The road from Passananur to Ananur, a distance of twenty wersts, lies also between the valleys watered by the rapid Aragua, on both sides of which are seen among woods, now country houses, and now the ruins of the flanked towers, which in former times were the means of defence among the Georgians. My escort consisted only of two Cossacks; but with whom I might very well have dispensed, as there could be no danger in a road so much frequented. About three wersts from Ananur are seen the turrets of the ancient Greek church, which is situated on a steep rock, overlooking the town, and opposite to the road. Before reaching the city we were obliged to perform quarantine at a lodging extremely damp, and well adapted to try the health of the most robust man, where travellers are generally detained four-and-twenty hours.

Ananur, the population of which was formerly very great, contains at present between three and four thousand inhabitants. It is protected by a fortress, the command of which is intrusted to a colonel* of the army. The term of my detention at the place of quarantine having expired, I set off, accompanied only by a Cossack. This road, which before the arrival of General Yermolow in Georgia was as dangerous on account of the Lesghis as that passing through the country of the Kabardines, was in 1819 so safe as to render any escort unnecessary. In proportion as I proceeded towards the interior of Georgia, I remarked a greater resemblance between this country and Andalusia; the farms scattered here and there, and within sight of the road, perfectly resemble what in Spain is called *cortijos;* the picturesque situation of the villages; the fertility of the country; the gayety of the peasants; their merry and continual songs, and even their lazy habits, which their rich soil seems to encourage; every thing assimilates the Georgians to the lower class of Andalusians.

* A Russian colonel has no regiment, and is usually employed in a stationary service.

At a short distance from Ananur, after crossing a branch of the Aragua, is the new building for the quarantine, which General Yermolow has caused to be erected to replace that we had just left, and which is extremely well situated. I arrived at Douchet, which is nineteen wersts from Ananur, at sunset, and found a good lodging at the commandant at arms, who kindly invited me to spend the night at his house.

Douchet is a larger place than Ananur, and enjoys the most delightful climate. In the evening, as I traversed the town to go to the commandant's residence, which is just outside the gates, I saw most of the inhabitants sitting at the doors of their houses, forming small circles, some chatting merrily, and others singing. The building where the commandant resided, is surrounded by a thick and high wall forming a perfect square. It is encircled by an exterior gallery, and has a large saloon in the centre, and a great number of smaller rooms; all the windows are unglazed; but they have wooden blinds, curiously carved, in the style of those of Andalusia. It has only one floor, the whole built of stone; the roof is flat, and forms a terrace. This place was the ordinary residence of one of the last Czars. In the saloon was held the supreme tribunal of a country which knew no law; there the prince gave audience, and in imitation of the Shahs of Persia, exercised various atrocities and tyrannical acts.

The commandant-at-arms, who was a great sportsman, accompanied me very early in the morning till within a short distance of Meskhet, which is nineteen wersts from Douchet. Before arriving at the former town, there is an extensive field on the borders of the Aragua, where the park of instruction for the artillery of the army of Georgia, which is usually stationed at Teflis, is yearly formed.

Meskhet was the capital of the ancient Kurtchistan, now *Georgia* The river Kur, formerly Cirus, bathes its ruined walls, and receives the waters of the Aragua. This city continued to be the seat of government for twenty centuries, till one of its Tzars transferred his residence to Twilis, (which in the Georgian language signifies warm springs, and from which Teflis takes its name,) in the hope of deriving some benefit from its waters.* The Georgians, referring to their ancient confused traditions, pretend, that Meskhet was founded by a near descendant of Noah, who named it after himself, choosing that spot on account of the unrivalled beauty of its situation. There is at Meskhet a church built of stone, which not all the fury of the Mussulmans has been able to destroy. The relievos of

* All the accounts I have seen respecting the origin of Teflis state, that it was founded in the eleventh century, by Tzar Liewvang, who, having discovered these warm springs during a hunting expedition, resolved on building that city in the neighbourhood; but the ancient temples of the Magi and other monuments of antiquity which still exist at Teflis, are more authentic proofs of its earlier origin. It is probable, therefore, that the above prince was the first of the Tzars, who fixed his residence there, and who gave it its present name.

several groups of allegorical figures, which still exist, though a little injured, are sufficient to show the great merit of the work.

In a corner of the walls of the ruined fortress there is a chapel, so small that it might more properly be called a niche, which, it is asserted, was used by the captive Nono as his sanctuary. The cross, made of broom, and tied with his hair, with which he converted the Tzar Mirian, and made so many proselytes, was carried into the mountains during the various invasions of the Mussulmans, and lastly to Moscow, where it was preserved until the Emperor Alexander I. caused it to be returned to the Georgians. There is also a monastery, the dome of which is perforated by cannon balls, and which the Persians, unable to take possession of it, vainly endeavoured to destroy. This monastery, situated on the borders of the Kur, contains the mortal remains of the noblest families of the country, and was the place where the coronation of the Tzars of Georgia was performed. The solidity with which it was originally built, and its present ruined state, give one an idea of the dreadful revolutions which it has undergone. The population of this city amounts but to little more than 500 inhabitants, whose dwellings are scattered over a space of ground which, in former times, presented 30,000 combatants.

On the borders of the river, and on the northern part of the city, are still seen the remains of a fortress, the foundations of which were laid twenty centuries ago. According to the traditions current in the country, this fortress enclosed a palace, where a Georgian princess, subject to violent passions, often invited the young travellers to sojourn; and, after having gratified her illicit desires, caused them to be precipitated into the river from the top of the tower, hoping by this means to conceal her criminal excesses.

Within a few wersts of Meskhet there is a spring, which flows into the Kur, and which still preserves the name of Armasm Zkala, or the water of Armasm, an idol to whom in ancient times the princes immolated the first-born of their vassals. Idolatry having been substituted by the gospel, the idol met the same fate which in similar cases all idols meet. The Lesghis, who now saw this place abandoned, descended from the neighbouring mountains, and established here their ambushes to surprise the passengers, whether men or women, whom they carried away to sell in Natalia or in Egypt.

A chain of mountains extends from Meskhet to the province of Imeretia as far as the coasts of the Black Sea. In these mountains are seen the caverns which served the unhappy inhabitants of the town as places of concealment, when the barbarians in their invasions sought them as their prey. Indeed, the neighbourhood of Meskhet has not only been the theatre of atrocities in ancient times, but even in our own; and, until the arrival of General Yermolow, it was a place most dangerous for travellers.

The Kur is crossed by a bridge, which, according to the opinion of antiquarians, was built at the epoch when Pompey was in Georgia. It has two great circular towers at each extremity, which, in those times, must have been sufficient to defend that passage, and have given a greater importance to Meskhet. Two or three wersts beyond this city the heights are left to the right, and the traveller enters the fertile soil of Teflis, where I saw the Georgian peasant ploughing the land with three or four couples of buffaloes, a method which must be attributed rather to the routine of these men than to the nature of the ground.

Five wersts before reaching Teflis, the city is seen spreading in the form of an amphitheatre, on the banks of the river Kur, at the extremity of a defile, formed by two bold ranges of mountains. On the left of the road, following the course of the river, is the place of quarantine, where I was detained but a short time, it being established rather for the merchants, whose goods demand continual precautions, than for the travelling officers.

CHAPTER XXX.

Reception of the author by General Williaminoff—Baron Renemkamph—Tatar Philip—Colonel Nicolas Yermoloff—Baron Ungern—Reception of the traveller by the Georgian Prince Chalakhoff—Wine of Kahetia—Signchak, chief town of Kahetia—Town of Tielaw, its grapes—Tchitchivaze a Georgian prince—The author's first interview with Klimonskoie the colonel of his regiment—Description of Karakhach—Its barracks—Details respecting the Russian army—Its organization—Work performed by the soldiery—Horses of Kabarda and Karaway—Climate of Georgia—Numerous jackalls—Barracks of Karakhach attacked by a few Lesghi Tartars—Tiger killed in attacking a sentinel—Belohakan, a city of the Eingalo—Barbarous triumph evinced by an Eingalo interpreter—The knoutt—Duelling—Anecdotes—Sporting in Georgia—Amusements of the officers—Yakouwovitch, his gallantry—The chaplain—Bad surgeons—Encampment of Tzarskoie—Colony of Germans established near Teflis.

On the morning after my arrival at the place of quarantine I entered Teflis, and immediately proceeded to General Williaminoff's to deliver the despatches intrusted to me by the general-in-chief. I met the kindest reception from that general, who introduced me to the officers of the staff, who had remained at Teflis, and especially to Baron Renemkamph, a young Livonian. This officer insisted on my accepting an apartment in his house, and presented me to the best societies of that city.

There were several European families residing here, most of whom belonged to the Russian employés; those whom I principally visited being the governor's, General Van Howen's, and that of the general of artillery General Ahuerdoff. With respect to the Georgian ladies, although I felt the greatest curiosity to be re-

mately acquainted with them, the attachment they still evince for their ancient Asiatic customs, and consequently their retired habits, rendered their society but little attractive.

The term of my residence at Teflis, however, did not so much depend on my will as on that of General Williaminoff's, who, far from showing any displeasure at my sojourn, gave me a general invitation to his table, and to his library, in which he spends a great part of his time. Under such favourable auspices Teflis soon became for me a second St. Petersburgh; but which I was shortly to quit in order to join my regiment, that was stationed at Karakhach, one hundred and forty wersts to the east of Teflis. In this, however, I was prevented by an intermittent fever, which never left me during the eighteen months I remained in this country, and which in five weeks reduced me to a mere skeleton. I am convinced that without the unremitting attendance of Dr. Privil, physician to the government, the cares of my excellent friend Renemkamph, who treated me as if I were his brother, and the medicines and attentions of the good Father Philip, the Catholic missionary residing at Teflis, of whom I shall speak more in the sequel, and who acted as my nurse, my fever would, doubtless, have terminated fatally. One day when it was at the highest, my negro, taking advantage of my situation, seized on my wardrobe and my purse, and proceeded, as I afterwards learned, in the company of an Armenian, to Persia, where, owing to the estimation in which they are held for certain offices in the harems, he was placed in that of the Shah; so that I was obliged to content myself with the services of two Dennschtchiks* whom the colonel had just sent me from Karakhach, who could scarcely understand my bad Russian.

Two months having elapsed without any material improvement taking place in my health, and finding unavailing both the prescriptions of my doctor and the incessant attentions of my numerous friends, I resolved to join my regiment. Accordingly I set off from Teflis on the 16th of December, in the company of Colonel Nicolas Yermolow, cousin-german of the general-in-chief, and who commanded the regiment of grenadiers of Grousia, or Georgia, whose cantonments were in the same direction as those of mine. I was also accompanied by a new comrade of mine, Baron Ungern, lately arrived from Europe, who was proceeding to join our regiment in the rank of captain, and by several other officers, all on horseback, among whom was my friend Renemkamph, who rode some distance with us.

Our road, though the shortest from Teflis to our place of destination, was by no means the best, and as in this season, even in this mild climate, the country assumes the aspect of winter. (which,

* Military servants assigned to the officers in the Russian army, according to their rank.

however, only lasts in Georgia from December till the latter end of January,) it did not much attract my attention. After three hours' ride we arrived at the tower of Prince Chalakaïoff, a young Georgian, who, being warned of our arrival, had made some preparations for our reception.

The prince, in his Georgian costume, and surrounded by attendants bearing torches, came out to meet us, and conducted us to a spacious apartment of an almost oval form, splendidly illuminated, around the walls of which was a wide continued bench, covered with beautiful tapestry, with cushions at the back, richly laced and embroidered, and which was to serve us both as seats and beds. The ladies and women of the tower, in our passage to this apartment, peeped, like the nuns in our convents, through the blinds, and chinks of the windows and doors; so that the prince was the only one who did the honours of the house, though in a manner which in Georgia would be considered rather as the reception from a friend than from a mere acquaintance.

As soon as we sat down we were all furnished with long pipes, according to the Russian and Georgian custom, while our entertainer caused a long table to be placed before us, and ordered supper to be brought, which consisted of several dishes of meat or poultry, boiled together with rice and dried fruits, with plenty of sugar, or honey, and saffron; a medley which for a European was the most strange they could present. With respect to the plate service, &c., all was in the European manner; but as the noblemen of this country have no head servant, or steward, the prince was obliged to be constantly supplying the deficiencies and neglects of his awkward attendants; nor was he able to partake of the repast tranquilly until towards its conclusion, when he took his seat among us to drink, and served us the excellent wine of Kahetia with that frugality by which these people are distinguished. We drank from the Georgian cup, which is a horn of a touri* highly polished, and mounted in silver or gold, and which one is obliged to hold in the hand, and drink continually, since it cannot be laid down until it is perfectly empty, the etiquette of this country besides requiring, that the guest should pledge his host every time he drinks.

The wine of Kahetia resembles in taste, colour, and mild effects, that of La Mancha, and especially that of Valdepeñas, which is so much in vogue at Madrid. As this wine is transported in Georgia, as in Spain, in skins, its flavour is a little spoiled; but, nevertheless, it compensated for the strange dishes with which we had been regaled, and kept up the hilarity of the company till midnight, when the table was removed, and the prince withdrew, and locked us in

* The touri or turi is a quadruped resembling (although smaller) the stag, which is found about the mountains of the Caucasus, and the river Kuban. Its horns are however considerably larger than the stag's, in proportion to its size, and it is asserted by the people here, that it has greater strength in them than the strongest bull

the saloon, where, dressed as we were, we reclined on the cushions, and resigned ourselves to sleep.

At dawn of the following day our host entered our room, and informed us that the carriage and horses of our party were ready; we took our leave of him, and pursued our way by a bad road, across glens and torrent-beds. An hour after we arrived at Zahoredsky, where the battalions of grenadiers of Georgia are encamped, and the situation of which is extremely well adapted to found a city.

The house of the colonel is built on an excellent plan, not only to afford entertainment to the officers of the regiment, but for the hospitality which he so prodigally lavishes on his friends, and where he invited my new comrade and myself to spend a day. Among his officers the lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, the Georgian Prince Abhazoff, is distinguished for his personal qualities and military merit; even at the age of fifteen he was decorated with the Russian order of St. George, a military decoration which in the most gallant regiment is scarcely possessed by four individuals.

Colonel Yermolow, and several other officers, accompanied us as far as the meadows and stables belonging to the trains of the regiment, and soon after we arrived at the post-house of Manaba, which is fifty-four wersts from Teflis, and where we spent the night. Most of these houses, which are constructed of osiers and covered with clay, have only the necessary partitions for the reception of the officers, travellers, Cossacks, and horses, that may not chance to arrive.

At day-break we proceeded on our journey, followed by two Cossacks, who were our escort. The morning was cold, and the frost during the night had hardened the little snow that lay on the fields, where we occasionally saw groups of sportsmen. At ten o'clock in the morning we arrived at Dampal, where we reposed ourselves awhile, and then proceeded to Signachsk, which is thirty-five wersts from Manaba. The road between these two towns is tolerably good, except just before entering the latter, which, being situated on a hill, offers a steep ascent. The fields, however, are well cultivated, and many of the country houses and farms, which are seen scattered here and there, must present in summer, by their picturesque situation, delightful prospects.

Signachsk, which in the insurrection of 1812 suffered dreadful depredations, is the capital of the province of Kahetia, and is considered an important point on account of its proximity to the Lesghi Tartars, who inhabit the country on the opposite bank of the river Alazann. It has a population of about three thousand inhabitants, who are protected by a garrison more or less numerous, according to the peaceable or hostile conduct observed by their neighbours. The elevation on which Signachsk stands forms a part of a chain of mountains, which on one side extends towards Tielaw, the second city of Kahetia; and on the other towards Tzarskoïe, a mountain-

ous district, which runs parallel to the Caucasus, from which it is separated by extensive plains, fifteen and twenty wersts wide, covered with forests watered by the Alazann, which empties itself into the Koura, at one hundred and fifty wersts from Signachak to the southern extremity of the province.

Tielaw, far wealthier than the capital on account of its vineyards, forms with the latter a barrier against the Lesghis. The richest lands in that district belong to Tchitchivaze, a Georgian prince, educated in Europe, who, though serving in our regiment with the rank of colonel, had succeeded, without neglecting his military duties, in improving his valuable inheritance in such a manner that few Georgian nobles can cope with him in wealth. The grapes of Tielaw are larger, more succulent and delicate, than those gathered on the coast of Malaga. There is also throughout this province a great abundance of wild grapes, which, though they by no means bear a comparison with the others, are nevertheless very good. The wine of Kahetia, therefore, is so plentiful, especially as it is not at all exported from Georgia, that the daily consumption at Teflis, is from two to four bottles per person.

Mr. Makachew, the commandant-at-arms of Signachsk, to whom we addressed ourselves to obtain quarters for the night, invited us to pass it at his house, from the gallery of which we had a view of the Caucasus, the most magnificent I ever beheld. The atmosphere of Georgia, at all times so pure, was on this night doubly so, on account of the north wind which prevails during the winter season, and together with the brightness of the moon, whose rays illuminated the snowy summits of that varied chain of mountains, produced the most picturesque and brilliant effect, surpassing all I have ever seen both in the Alps and the Pyrenees.

On the following morning we set off on our journey in a carriage belonging to our colonel, which was returning empty to the Karakhach, and to the use of which we were entitled. From Signachsk the descent is so precipitous, that we were obliged to alight, and walk for nearly five wersts, in the space of which we met, from distance to distance, water-mills, which, though very imperfect in their construction, furnish sufficient flour for the garrison and resident Europeans,* except in times of extraordinary drought.

Having descended the heights of Signachsk, we proceeded through fertile and beautiful valleys, which extend along the borders of the river Alazann to beyond Karakhach. The twenty-seven wersts between Signachsk and this place are accounted very dangerous, owing to the proximity of the Lesghis, who, though acknowledging the Russian government, occasionally commit acts of depredation, which can only be repressed by an armed force, and are in the habit of lying in ambush to surprise travellers, and espe-

* The Asiatics do not make use of mills to grind the rye of which their bread is made.

cially the officers, for whose ransom they demand large sums. As the Russian etiquette requires that when an officer arrives at an encampment or at a garrison he should present himself in full uniform, and as moreover we were to alight at our colonel's quarters, we travelled from Signachsk as if we were going to the parade; so that our plumes and uniforms were doubly attractive for the mountaineers, had any been on the alert, particularly as we proceeded without an escort, depending wholly upon our arms.

At about half way of our road, we saw two men on horseback, who proved to be the principal doctor of our regiment and his servant, and who, like ourselves, were going to Karakhach. On seeing the familiarity with which he accosted us, which was rather the effect of the wine of Kahetia than his want of good breeding, I immediately felt a presentiment that he would one way or another put an end to my fever. The Prince Tchitchivaze, whose acquaintance I had made at Teflis, was the only officer of our regiment whom I knew, and he was then absent from the camp; neither was my comrade better known among them. But our doctor, whose liberality the generous liquor seemed greatly to excite, offered us not only his own house, but even those of which he could not dispose, though he entirely forgot to offer us the hospital.

Immediately on our arrival we presented ourselves to our chief, Colonel Klimonskoïe, who, though he had been an aid-de-camp of the Grand Duke Constantine during the campaigns of 1813 and 1814, did not understand a single word of any other language than that he had learned from his nurse; a circumstance not very common in Russia among the class to which he belonged, and which naturally confined our conversation to a few words; but his good humour compensated for this inconvenience, which was shared by another chief, Mr. Soltikoff, who was my colleague, and by one or two more officers. This inspired me with the hope that I should make a greater progress in the Russian language than I had hitherto done, the knowledge of it being absolutely necessary to enable me to fulfil my duties under the banners I served; but notwithstanding my good will, the deplorable state of my health prevented me from applying myself closely to this study.

Before proceeding further in my narrative, I shall here present a slight sketch of the occupations, duties, and inconveniences, of the life of a Russian officer in cantonments.

Karakhach derives its name from an ancient city, the ruins of which are still extant. The barracks of the six campaign squadrons, of which all the cavalry regiments in Russia are composed, formed of themselves a kind of military city. They are built in a line in three divisions, each of which contains two squadrons, and are situated opposite to the river Alazann, and to the mountains, forming the front of the building. The stables, which are parallel with the barracks, and at a distance of one hundred paces from

them, observe the same order of distribution, and form the back. In the space that intervenes between these two buildings are the houses of the officers, similarly distributed, and all regularly built of wood; whilst on the left of this line are the magazines and workshops of the regiment, the chapel, and the house of the chaplain, as well as the hospital, and kitchens of the squadrons.

The houses of the officers were built by the soldiers for a slight gratification, and without the former incurring further expense than the purchase of the iron materials; such as nails, hinges, &c. necessary for their construction; so that an officer becomes proprietor and citizen of Karakhach at very little cost.

The colonel of a regiment in Russia is bound, both morning and evening, to keep open table for all his officers, pay the music of the regiment, whether of infantry or cavalry, defray all the expenses of the hospital of his cantonment, and take charge of the handiwork of every article for the complete equipment of his regiment; so that the Emperor, or, in other words, the crown, furnishes each regiment with only the pay, arms, leathers, cloths, copper and iron, and a certain sum for the remount of the cavalry. Thus, it is calculated, in Russia, and especially in Georgia, that an infantry soldier completely equipped for war, his arms excepted, costs the government twenty-five roubles (assignats), which are equivalent to one pound sterling.

With respect to the colonel's table, whether he be absent or not, it is always provided at his house, either with music or without, according to the pleasure of him who presides, who is the officer highest in rank. If a stranger arrive, he is always hospitably received, and placed beside the president, provided only that he be introduced by one of the officers.

On the other hand the colonel, to be able to meet the great expenses which he incurs in thus supporting the regiment, has the right of employing, in time of peace, the third part of his troops for his own benefit, during certain months in the year, when the military instructions are suspended. The soldiers then become masons, carpenters, smiths, &c. or engaged in whatever occupation they may be hired for; so that as they are furnished by the colonel with suitable dresses, that their uniforms may not suffer during the time they are thus employed, they cannot be recognised as soldiers except by their mustachios. Besides, there are always a certain number of them employed in the workshops belonging to the regiment in every description of trade; consequently every thing that can possibly be wanted in the corps is made by the soldiers.

It is by this kind of administration that Russia is enabled to maintain the immense army it keeps at present on foot, and which, according to the statement circulated among the various divisions of the army at the time of my serving in it amounted to 600,000 infantry, 100,000 cavalry, twenty-six regiments of artillery, thirty-eight sappers,

the same, and twelve squadrons of sappers,* exclusive of the passive regiments, or in garrison, the Cossacks, and a multitude of other armed corps of the empire.

The colonel of a regiment is answerable to the Emperor for the equipment, good health, and discipline, of the troops under his orders; and as Alexander was every year in the habit of surprising in their camps of instruction some of the divisions of his army, where he would make his appearance accompanied by only one of his aid-de-camps, no matter how far they might be from the capital, no chief ever dared to neglect the most trifling of his duties. To this cause the flourishing state of his armies may be attributed. It is impossible to form a correct idea of the perfection at which they have arrived, unless by entering into details on their organization, which my limits do not permit. Suffice it to say, that the Russian troops of the present day have adopted all that is worthy of imitation both in the French school, and in the interior regulations of the English army and hospitals.

At the head-quarters of every division of the army there is a college, supported by all its regiments, where youths of distinction, who afterwards serve as officers, receive a military education, assisting at the parade as private soldiers,† with their respective battalions, when these are in the same cantonments. There is another institution for a different class of youths, that is, for orphans and foundlings whom the government takes under its protection, educates at its own expense, and afterwards generally destines to the topographical labours of the staff.

Russia has two armies, one active and the other passive; the former for the field, and the latter for garrison. Those officers possessing but little military merit, and those who marry, especially such as unite themselves with persons beneath them in rank, are usually employed in the latter service. It is, therefore, very rare to meet with married officers on active service.

When an officer arrives at his cantonments he has workmen of all trades at his disposal, until all his wants are supplied. Thus a droschki, which is the vehicle most in use among the Russians, and absolutely necessary for every chief, costs him but a trifle, when he furnishes the workmen with materials. Besides, the regiment assigns him two or three dennschtchiks, whom they select for the service of officers from among those privates who are not acquainted with any trade, but who are sufficient for his service.

* The Emperor Alexander was the first who formed a body of mounted sappers. He commenced by introducing them in the guards, and finding their great utility, ultimately established them in all the armies of the empire.

† In Russia there are no cadets, consequently those youths must first serve as privates, and go through all the subaltern gradations before ascending to officers. An exception is made in favour of the Emperor's pages, who, as in other countries, leave the palace for the army in the rank of officers.

With all these resources, to which must be added the rations for himself, servants, and horses, an officer may live respectably, particularly if, as is the case in Georgia, he receive the pay given to troops on active service, which is double that of those in garrison, or in passive service. Still, even in this case it offers no means for economy, as it is smaller than that given in any other European country to officers of the same rank.

Each regiment of cavalry is composed of seven squadrons, six in active service and the seventh in depot, or in other words, of twelve active companies, and two more of conscripts drilling at the depot. These six squadrons form three divisions, each of which is under the orders of one of the three chiefs, and form a total of from nine hundred to one thousand horse. During their march they are never burdensome to the peasantry, as the regiments are furnished with tents, and with the means of transporting their luggage.

Our remount was made in Kabarda, a country in which the most useful horses known throughout the empire are bred. They unite beauty with strength, and are so numerous that three or four thousand can yearly be purshased for the army in the markets of Teflis, out of fourteen or fifteen thousand brought there for sale.

This plentiful supply on one hand, and the great poverty of the Kabardines on the other, enable the officers to purchase horses for the twentieth part of what a horse of equal merit would cost in the cheapest market in Germany. The horses which are bred at Karaway, a province belonging to Russia on the borders of Persia, are more delicately shaped and fetch a higher price than those of Kabarda; but they are not able to resist so much fatigue as the former. They have, however, all the beauty and fire of the old Andalusian race; and like these have many of the good qualities of the Arabian horses.

The crown allows the colonel of a regiment one hundred and twenty roubles per horse, a sum which is certainly beneath the value of one, especially in the interior provinces of the empire. At Kabarda, however, the finest horse for a squadron may be had for twenty or thirty roubles above the sum granted by the crown; but the necessity of adhering to colour in the divisions, that is to say, of procuring horses of only three distinct colours, and the difficulty of inducing those uncivilized tribes to attend to the breed of horses, naturally exercise an influence over their price. If the government should one day succeed in organizing the country of the Kabardines and of the Tcherkesses, the various races might then be crossed with those of the Karaway, and propagated on the borders of the Terak, by which means the same advantages might be derived as in Andalusia with the horses bred at the foot of the mountains from Grenada to Ubeda, the only race in Spain which unites beauty with strength.

The climate of Karakhach is not so mild as that of Teflis, owing

to the peculiar situation of the former between the heights of Signachsk and the chain of the Caucasus, which prolong the winter in these plains a month later than in the rest of the country.

Our colonel, who was a true officer of the spur, and zealous for the improvement of his corps, always presided at our occupations and amusements, which in the morning consisted of exercises on horseback or on foot, by companies or in the line, of the display of horsemanship by the officers, sergeants, and corporals, and of the exercise of arms. The afternoon was spent in visiting the stables and admiring the good qualities of some of the horses, who were trained to all kinds of privations, and to eat while the report of a pistol sounded in their ears. Our veterans, the greatest part of whom were inured to the climate, and who were the only cavalry of the line in the army of Georgia, had rendered distinguished services in the war against the Persians. On the peace with this power being concluded, they were stationed in their present cantonments, as an advanced post. Their proximity to the Lesghis kept them continually on the alert, and rendered this service, though useful to the soldiers, by no means pleasant.

At night the posts around our encampment were doubled, the *qui vive* of the sentries confounding itself with the sharp howlings of the tchacals, which are here so numerous that droves of them advanced towards our encampment to seize on our poultry as soon as it grew dark.

The River Alazann, which is within six or seven wersts of Karakhach is fordable at various times in the year, a circumstance which rendered the exterior service of our camp extremely complicated on dark nights, as the plain extending to the river is covered with thick forests.

A few weeks before my arrival, and on one of these dark nights, some twenty Lesghis descended from the mountains, and crossing the Alazann, succeeded in silently making their way on foot through the cordon formed by the sentries. On arriving at the door of one of the three barracks, they poniarded the sentry stationed there before he had time to give the alarm, and penetrating with the same audacity into the interior of the barrack, where the soldiers were asleep, distributed themselves right and left, and plunged their poniards into the first dragoons they met, till the groans and cries of the dying and wounded awakening their comrades, the confusion became general, especially as the Lesghis, who could recognise each other by their beards, had extinguished the lights and continued their horrible massacre on the defenceless soldiers, who endeavoured to gain the door and seize their arms. Patroles having at length arrived with lights, the Lesghis sought to cut their way through them; but seeing the impracticability of this, some of them stabbed themselves on the spot, and the rest surrendered, testifying their joy at the sight of the bleeding corpses of Christians by whom they were surrounded. The fanaticism they evinced when they underwent the

punishment due to their atrocious deeds, proved that their pomards had been directed by their barbarous priests.

This lesson, which might have been still more fatal had the Lesghis been more numerous, and less rash by neglecting to seize on the arms, which are symmetrically placed near the entrance, cost the regiment more than sixty men killed or dangerously wounded; but it produced the extraordinary vigilance which was observable at the time of my arrival at the cantonment, and which one *night* occasioned the death of a new enemy. A sentry seeing *something* gently approaching towards him, challenged the object, and observing that it continued advancing without vouchsafing him an answer, he immediately fired and effectually arrested its progress When the patrol repaired to the spot they found that the intruder was a tiger, then in its last agonies.

Opposite to our encampment, on the other side of the Alazann, and at a distance of eighteen or twenty wersts, is the city of Belakan situated at the foot of the Caucasus, and inhabited by the Eingalos, a people whom the Lesghis keep in the most horrible state of slavery, and who formerly belonged to Georgia; but who being too industrious, and attached to their native soil, would never abandon it, during the different revolutions which that country has undergone, and became subject to their present masters. That city carries on a great trade with Teflis, principally in bourkas, which are manufactured there; and as the traders pass through Karakhach, our colonel, who was the commandant of this district, and from whom they must obtain a passport for Georgia, was obliged to have near him an Eingalo, who understood the Russian language, and served as interpreter. This man had become so familiarized with the officers, that the colonel allowed him to sit at our table. One day we remarked that the interpreter was absent, a circumstance which seldom occurred; but, as we were finishing our dessert, he entered the dining-room in high spirits, bringing under his arm a bundle, carefully tied, which, he said, contained a fine water melon for our dessert. This fruit, in the middle of December, is considered a great delicacy, and we all expressed a wish that he should produce it, when he immediately untied the bundle, and, to our great horror, we beheld the head of a Lesghi, whom he had killed in fight on the other side of the Alazann during a sporting expedition, roll on the table. Disgusted at this action, which among these barbarous mountaineers would pass as an excellent joke, we all rose from table, and retired to another apartment, while the Eingalo sat down to dinner, and, at every mouthful he took, amused himself with turning the head, which he kept close to his plate, first one way and then another.

Much is said in Europe of the knoutt, which, it is asserted, a Russian chief frequently applies to his officers. I shall not attempt here to investigate the origin of this opinion, which is often supported

with open malice, but merely confine myself to state a fact among the many which every day occur.

Colonel Klimonskoï, being displeased with a certain officer of our corps, struck him in the presence of several of his comrades. The outraged officer withdrew ; and on the following morning the colonel, seeing him enter the breakfast-room, advanced towards him, and, taking him aside, manifested a wish to give him the satisfaction due to a comrade. The officer, whose character was not of the firmest, understood these words, and immediately declared himself satisfied. All his comrades, who had hitherto maintained that reserve which the affair required, freely gave their opinion; and from that moment the officer was so greatly despised by all, that he could no longer appear at the same table, and was obliged to remain in his own apartment under the pretext of illness, until the general-in-chief granted the petition which this unfortunate young man addressed to him, for permission to retire from the service, under the usual plea of ill health.

Some time after this an occurrence similar to the above took place between two officers of different ranks. The inferior officer demanded a satisfaction; blood was spilt; the affront was washed away; and the chief and the subordinate became good friends. Indeed, the tolerance with which duelling is looked upon in a nation wholly military, is in itself a guarantee to officers of an inferior rank to be respected by their superiors, since these cannot offer them an affront with impunity. Often, however, the opinions on this subject, among this class of people in Russia, are even chivalrous.

There was in my regiment an officer whose name was Yakouwovitch,* and who, while he was serving in one of the regiments of the guards at St. Petersburgh in the year 1816 or 1817, was invited by one of his friends to act as his second in a duel, in which the former fell, as it is thought, by unfair means. Yakouwovitch, who felt bound to avenge the death of his friend, challenged the assassin, who, to avoid this second affair, contrived a court intrigue, by which Yakouwovitch was immediately dismissed from the guards, and sent, without promotion, to a regiment in Georgia, accompanied by a courier. On his arrival at Moscow he wrote to his adversary, and also to this man's second, again demanding a satisfaction. The former paid no attention to this fresh challenge; but the latter, struck with this manly conduct, accepted the challenge, though the duel was to be fought on the frontiers of Persia. The young Griwaïedoff, who thus gallantly came forward, was a counsellor of state, and held a post in the foreign office. To the no small astonishment of the ministry, he asked to be employed in the Persian legation; but having obtained the situation of secretary to it, immediately set

* The name of this officer has been mentioned in the public papers as being one of the officers condemned in Russia, and implicated in the late suppressed conspiracy.

off for his place of destination, informing Yakouwovitch, whom he believed to be at Teflis, of his journey, and who received his letter at Karakhach. Having asked the necessary permission, the latter repaired to that city, where he met his opponent, and where they fought with pistols, as is customary; but on the seconds having interfered after the first firing, the affair did not terminate so fatally as was feared from the nature of the affront. Yakouwovitch returned to his post at Karakhach, and Grivaïedoff, wounded, continued his journey to Tauris, while the aggressor remained tranquil at St. Petersburgh.

Hunting was at Karakhach the amusement of most of the officers on festival days; but we were obliged to take certain precautions that we might not be hunted instead of hunting. All kinds of game were so abundant in these environs, (where wild goats are still very numerous), that the six hunters, whom the colonel kept constantly employed in this occupation, furnished so much game to the cantonment, that frequently no other meats were provided than those absolutely required for the service of the hospital.

The natural attachment of my comrades to the customs of their country induced them to keep the carnival in the fashion of Russia, though of course on a very small scale. Thus, during the short time that the temperature allowed of this kind of amusement, we had Russian mountains, skating, and courses in sledges. In the evening we took tea, and punch was freely served, with pipes of Turkish tobacco, while chess and cards, enlivened by the music of the regiment, formed the usual diversion of the winter evenings. The wife of the chaplain of our regiment was the only lady at Karakhach; but the retirement in which she lived deprived us of her company. Her husband, however, who was still young, and whose character and conduct rendered him an object of general esteem, was the ornament of our parties; a circumstance which was the more highly valued by us, as it is by no means common among the military Russian clergymen. But, indeed, I have known few men more worthy of the respect and friendship which we all, without distinction of religion, felt for him, his tolerance being not the least of his virtues.

Yakouwovitch, whose greatest pleasure was to attend on the sick soldiers at the hospital, and act as their principal nurse, was the first who made me remark the religious conduct of this clergyman, who seldom left the pillow of the dying soldiers. Since that time I felt for him that kind of attachment which is seldom effaced from the memory when it originates in such places.

I cannot say as much of the doctor, who, without the unremitting cares and attendance of the officers on their sick soldiers, would, after two autumns, have made of Karakhach a vast cemetery. Indeed, the want of good doctors is very much felt in the army of the Caucasus; and this can be attributed only to the negligence of the

government at St. Petersburgh; a negligence which is the more blamable, as in this part of the empire the soldiers are very subject to sickness. Our corps, like all the others in Russia, furnished men every year to the imperial guard, who were replaced by the conscripts, who are periodically raised throughout the empire. But such was the gross ignorance of the three doctors intrusted with the care of our hospital, (which by the disinterestedness of the colonel and the affection of the officers for the soldiers, might in every respect serve as a model to any in Russia,) that when they were allowed to act according to their own judgment, three parts of those conscripts fell victims to the fevers prevalent in the country.

Thus the officers and soldiers of the regiment stationed at Karakhach spent most of the time which was not employed in their military duties in acts of friendship and benevolence; constantly struggling with assassins, and surrounded with wild beasts, serpents, scorpions, and swarms of insects, by which we were tormented in our beds, and which disappeared only during the winter season; our knowledge of the events that were passing in the world being confined to the slight information contained in the prikaz, which was every week sent from St. Petersburgh, and which arrived with more or less regularity, according to the practicability of the passage of couriers through the chain of the mountains.

In the midst of this kind of exile, supportable only because with a military philosophy we all endeavoured to overcome the crosses and ennui incident to this kind of life, I received, towards the latter end of February, 1820, the first intelligence from my exiled friends. The circumstance of its probably being the first Spanish letter which has ever been received at the Caucasus, and the person by whom it was written, appear to me worthy of mention here.*

The spring beginning now to be felt at Karakhach, the regiment prepared to leave this part of the country, to establish in the month of May their summer encampment at Tzarskoïe, which is situated on the high lands forming a continuation of the Signachsk hills, and which is twelve wersts distant from Karakhach. This place is well provided with good water, and considered the most salubrious in the environs.

The arrival of General Yermolow at Teflis, together with the inactivity in which the regiment was likely to remain at Tzarskoïe, and my desire to render myself useful during the summer, induced me to ask permission from the general-in-chief to proceed to the capital. Having obtained it, I set off from Karakhach on the 20th of March, accompanied by some officers of the regiment, who were also proceeding to the capital. On our second day's journey we passed through the German colonies, which are within five

* See note L.

wersts of the capital. These colonists, who are natives of Wirtemburgh, were sent into Georgia through the influence of the Empress Mother, who wished to relieve the misery of the indigent class of her native country. Their proximity to Teflis enables them to furnish the market with butter, hams, potatoes, and other vegetables which were before unknown to the Georgians. The houses built for them by the government are well adapted to the climate; whilst the protection which they meet, both from the authorities and from those Germans employed in the country, contribute much to their prosperity.

We arrived early on the 5th of April at Teflis, where my friend the Baron Renempkamph again invited me to take up my quarters at his house. Having immediately presented myself to General Yermolow, and expressed a wish of rendering myself useful during the summer out of my regiment, studiously concealing from him the real state of my health, which was still in a most deplorable state, I obtained the only favour he had in his power to grant, namely, my remaining at Teflis near his person until an opportunity should offer.

Before proceeding further in my narrative, I beg to be allowed to offer a slight retrospective sketch of the revolutions which Georgia has undergone till its incorporation with the Russian empire, and the advantages derived by the Georgians from this important event.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Historical and topographical sketch of Georgia—The Princess Tamar—Conquest by Dchennghis Khan—The Tzars of Georgia—Division into petty kingdoms—The Georgians seek the protection of Russia—The Tzar Heraclius—Invasion by the Persians under Aga Mehemet—Zouboff attacks Daghestan—Cruel death of Charokh, an Asiatic prince—Assassination of Mehemet Shah—Sadek Khan—Baba Khan mounts the Persian throne as Fetah-Ali-Shah—Abdication of Heraclius, Tzar of Georgia—His son George resigns his dominions to the Russians—General Tchitchianow—Desperate act of the Georgian Tzarina—The Georgians profess the Greek creed—Armenian portion of the population—Capuchin missionaries—Temples of the idolaters—Administration of Yermolow—The Tartar principalities in allegiance to Russia—Nougha—Costume of the inhabitants of Shirvan, and its tributaries to Russia—Commercial spirit of the Armenians—Warlike dispositions of the Georgians—The Tartars described—Consolidation of the government.

Georgia, called by the Russians Grousia, comprises the provinces of Kahetia or Kahet (which was formerly called Albania), Imeretia (originally Iberia), Kartalinia, and Minngrelia, (anciently Colchida).

The revolutions which this country suffered in ancient times, and which the monuments, medals, and other antiquities still found here serve to commemorate, are too generally known to require any further mention. A continual prey to their invading neighbours,

these provinces became the theatre of still more bloody scenes after the introduction of Christianity, and were unable to obtain their complete independence until the reign of the first Tamar, a princess who flourished towards the latter end of the eleventh century, and who conquered both the Turks and the Persians, whose oppressive yoke had hitherto so heavily weighed on her country.

This princess, who is as celebrated in Georgia as Catharine II. in Russia, married a Russian prince of the family of Bogolubsky, and at her death was succeeded by her daughter; who, less fortunate than her mother, was overcome by the renowned Dchennghis Khan, who, assisted by Tamerlan, invaded Georgia for the purpose of establishing the Koran. The great source of evil to that country, however, arose from the frequent divisions of the Georgian princes themselves, who, by erecting their provinces into independent kingdoms, exposed their country still more to the incursions of the Persians. Alexander I. Tzar of Georgia, and who reigned at the beginning of the fifteenth century, was one of the first to set the example, by bequeathing separate provinces to each of his sons; who thereby became independent kings. This accounts also for the great number of princes that are found among the Georgian nobility.

Some years after that impolitic division, the Turks, in their contentions with the Persians, urged the tribes of the Caucasus, and especially the Lesghis, who professed the same religion as themselves, to lay waste that part of Georgia adjoining Persia, that they might form a barrier by rendering it a desert. Alexander, Tzar of Kahetia, was then obliged to have recourse to Russia, and, in 1586, sent an ambassador to Fëdor I. Tzar of Muscovy, offering submission, and requesting that some fortresses might be built on the Terak for his defence. From that time the protection of Russia has been sought by most of the Georgian princes, who seldom failed to obtain it.

When Peter I. ascended the throne of Russia, he began his celebrated reign by taking a more active part in the affairs of Georgia. Derbend was occupied by his troops, and several altercations arose between him and the Persians respecting the Daghestan, which were more or less energetically supported, according as the court of Russia felt interested in the welfare of that part of Asia. At length, some years after the death of that Emperor, the affairs of Persia became so involved, and weighed so heavily on Georgia, that they led to the final incorporation of those provinces with the Russian empire. The following are the details.

Aga Mehemet, son of a governor of one of the provinces of Persia, was, by order of Adel Shah, toward the middle of the last century, made a eunuch at the age of twelve, and confined in a prison of Shiras, where he was kept for nearly thirty years. This man, naturally ambitious and intriguing, though entirely devoid of talents, succeeded in rendering himself master of the crown, as much by the

enormous sums he distributed, to foment the disunion which had taken place among the descendants of Kerin, as by the assistance he met from a powerful party. Scarcely had the usurper ascended the throne, than he abandoned himself to every excess of cruelty that the most atrocious tyranny could devise. The details of his barbarities are too disgusting to be mentioned here, and drew upon him the well-merited appellation of tyrant, even from the wretched slaves over whom he swayed.

Thirsting for new victims, he cast his eyes on Georgia, where at that time reigned the Tzar Heraclius, who had just concluded a treaty with the Empress Catharine II. with the view of checking any encroachments on the part of Persia. Mehemet assembled an army of 40,000 men, and marched upon Erivan, the residence of a Khan, who had shaken off the yoke of Persia, and who was an ally of the Tzar Heraclius, where he expected to find the presumptive heir of Georgia. Having fought a battle before Erivan, in which he defeated his enemies, he left there some troops for the blockade of the fortress, and continued his triumphant march towards Gangea, now called Elizabethpol; after which he directed his course toward Teflis, from which he was removed only three days' journey.

The Tzar Heraclius, believing that this capital would be protected by the troops he had placed under the command of his eldest son, and surprised by the sudden appearance of Aga Mehemet, fled into the province of Kahetia, followed by the whole of the nobility and most of the inhabitants of Teflis, who carried away with them every thing of value. Mehemet entered Teflis on the 18th of October, 1795, without the least opposition, gave it up to pillage, and put to the sword, or carried into slavery, all who had remained behind.

The Khan of Erivan, intimidated by Mehemet's successes, again placed himself under his yoke; and the son of Heraclius, *allowing* his troops to disperse at this critical moment, dishonoured himself so far as to acknowledge as sovereign, in his own and his father's name, the atrocious tyrant who had invaded his country; agreeing, moreover, to pay to him the annual tribute paid by Georgia in former times. This submission on the part of this prince was the more disgraceful, as he was then in the vigour of his age, and at the head of all the forces of Georgia.

Satisfied with this rapid incursion, Mehemet licensed his troops, and proceeded to the court of Teheran, to spend the winter there. But on the Russian cabinet learning this invasion, orders were issued to General Zouboff to march forward with his army, which, after ten days' bombardment, entered Derbend, and afterwards proceeded towards the Daghestan, along the borders of the Caspian Sea. These troops continued their operations on that side, and took Bakou and Chamakia; but as they approached the frontiers of Persia, they received, in December of the same year, the news of the death of Catharine, and orders to retrograde.

Mehemet, instead of coming out to meet the Russians, directed his course towards Khorazan, on the eastern side of the Caspian Sea, between Persia and Turcomania, with the object of dethroning Charokh, the only prince in Asia who studied the happiness of his subjects, and preserved tranquillity in his states. Charokh sent his son to the mountains with his treasures, and seeing how impossible it was for him to oppose any resistance, went alone to meet the Shah, and proposed to him the most advantageous conditions to preserve peace. The tyrant, however, would not listen to them; and, not satisfied with depriving him of his province, insisted on knowing the place where his son had fled with the treasures, which he claimed as belonging to him by right, alleging that his predecessor Nadir Shah had taken them there from India. Charokh refusing to accede to this, the tyrant had recourse to the most cruel torments, until that unhappy prince, vanquished by his sufferings, disclosed, a few hours before expiring, the place where his son and his treasures were.

After a series of disasters, during which the Persians carried off from Teflis more than 12,000 unhappy Georgians, who dragged on a wretched existence in slavery, the salvation of Georgia depended on its becoming a part of the Russian empire, from whose monarchs they had incessantly experienced the most marked favours and protection, and with whom they were besides linked by the same religion, and a detestation for the power of the Mussulmans.

In the month of March, 1797, Mehemet, enriched by his spoils, prepared for a second invasion of Georgia, and traversed the province of Shirvan, at the head of 60,000 men; but the death of tyrants awaited him, and he was assassinated during the night in his own tent by Sadek Khan, one of his chief officers, when the army was on the frontiers of Georgia. This officer seized on the treasures of the Shah, and took the Firman, and the seal that the tyrant, like all the princes of Asia, carried fastened to his wrist by a bracelet, and causing 10,000 men of his faction to follow him, proceeded to the court of Teheran, with the view of drawing to his party the discontented, and placing himself on the throne of the usurper.

Four claimants to the crown suddenly presented themselves, among whom Hadgi Ibrahim, by dint of promises and gifts, succeeded in inducing the new usurper to renounce all his designs, and declare himself in favour of Baba Khan, nephew of the tyrant Mehemet, who actually mounted the throne, in 1799, under the name of Fetah-Ali-Shah. It was at this epoch that his favourite, Kouli-Khan, distinguished himself.

After a reign of fifty-two years the Tzar Heraclius abdicated in favour of his son George, and placed his kingdom under the protection of Russia. The new prince, following in the steps of his predecessors, concluded the work to which he was urged by the deplorable circumstances of his country, and bequeathed, in 1800, his

states to the Emperor Paul I. The Russian troops then advanced from the Terak to Teflis. The policy of the Russians, doubtless, induced them to intrust the command of this army to General Tchitchianow, a Georgian prince, related to the last Tzar, who has left, among his countrymen and the Russians, an honourable memory of the superior talents, both military and political, by which he was distinguished. This general not only screened his country from foreign invasion, but punished the Persians for the numberless atrocities they had committed in Georgia, and ended his days with the satisfaction of knowing, that he had dried the tears of so many families who had hitherto been so cruelly oppressed by the Mahometans. From the moment that this illustrious general was placed at the head of the government, Alexander, brother to the Tzar George, displeased with the political change which had taken place in Georgia, endeavoured to excite several provinces to rebellion; but, finding his efforts fruitless, he took refuge in Persia, where he still resides, and is made the instrument for disturbing the peace of his native country.

These events occasioned the removal of George's Tzarine to Moscow, by orders of the Russian government. It is a well-known fact, that this princess, when she received orders to depart, was so greatly incensed, not only against the authors of those orders, but against the messenger himself, General Lazareff, who they say had been her lover, that, after haughty reproaches on her side and prudent reflections on his, she snatched from the waist of a servant then present his poniard, and plunged it into the bosom of Lazareff, who fell dead at her feet. Appeased by this sacrifice, she consented to be taken to Moscow, where, in my journey through that city in 1819, I learned she still resided, receiving a pension from the government.

After the death of Tchitchianow, the Russian government, too deeply engaged in the affairs of Europe, neglected in some measure the destiny and prosperity of these new provinces, and not only sent, according to the general opinion, persons unfit for its administration, but changed them so often that no improvement could reasonably be expected. Such was still the fate of Georgia, on which then weighed the calamities of Asia and of Europe, until the end of the European campaign of 1814, when the Emperor Alexander turned his attention towards that country.

It was at this epoch that General Yermolow was, after his celebrated embassy to Teheran, appointed general-in-chief, with full power to organize and pacify this interesting country, an undertaking sufficient of itself to immortalize the name of this general, but which the Persians are incessantly striving to thwart by their perfidious conduct, and by their constant endeavour to foment insurrection in favour of the Tzarwitch in some of the provinces of Georgia, and especially in those on the confines of Persia, whose religious creed places them more within the influence of their seductions.

With respect to the religion of the Georgians, history informs us that Nono, who lived in the time of Constantine, being carried a captive to Georgia, converted the Tzar Mirian to Christianity, as well as most of his subjects, by the extraordinary cures he performed, which were looked upon by the people as miracles, and which he declared to emanate from the holiness of his religion. From that time the Georgians have never ceased to profess the Greek creed, and were subject to the patriarch of Constantinople until the eleventh century, when they appointed their own patriarchs. The number of ruined churches which are found throughout this country, show how general was this religion among the inhabitants.

The Armenians, who owing to their religion are constantly obliged to take refuge in Georgia, on account of the vexations they experience from the Turks and Persians, formed in 1820 more than the fourth part of the Georgian population, and more than half of that of Teflis. The Armenians carry on most of the commerce of this country. Their love for mercantile pursuits exempts them from the indolence which so generally prevails among the Asiatics.

The Jews are by no means numerous here, and constitute but a very indigent and insignificant class of people. This may be attributed to the activity of the Armenians in every branch of trade.

At the commencement of the seventeenth century, the court of Rome sent some Capuchin missionaries, who established themselves in some of the principal towns of Georgia. The superior and a few more have their residence at Teflis, and obtained from the government sufficient ground to build a church and a convent, to which a considerable garden is annexed. It is very probable that the long beards, which distinguish the Capuchins from the other Catholic friars, gained them the preference over others for the mission of this country, where even the Catholics themselves believe that a long beard is an indispensable appendage to a minister of the altar. I have seen a Dominican friar, who came from Poland to join the mission of Teflis, and who, notwithstanding his being a native of Georgia, felt obliged to let his beard grow, not to lose the good opinion of his flock. These missionaries, besides the exact fulfilment of their spiritual duties, devote much of their time to the assistance of the sick, their humanity and unremitting attentions entitling them to the greatest praise.

The sectaries of Omar and those of Ali have also their mosques at Teflis. At noon, the vociferations of their olanes* from the towers of their temples are heard in spite of the deafening noise made by the bells of the Christians. The ancient temples of the idolaters are still extant; but they now serve only as places of refuge for destitute families. All these different religions are tolera-

* Attendants at the mosques.

ted in Georgia, the same as throughout the Russian empire, and enjoy an equal protection from the government. This enlightened policy, together with the steady endeavours of the armed force to preserve tranquillity in every part of the country, in which there is every reason to hope they will ultimately succeed, and the indefatigable cares and good administration of the modern chief, have thrown open the gates of Georgia to all foreigners, either Asiatic or European, who by their commerce with the natives so greatly contribute to foment the industry of the country, the prosperity of which must now be rapidly increasing.

With respect to the Khanas, or Tartar principalities, which form the limits of Georgia on the east and south; such as Nougha, Shirvan, Karaway, although at the time of that country's incorporation with Russia, the respective Khans declared themselves tributaries, and subjects to the Emperor, there were certain stipulations made, by which no Russian troops were to be stationed in their provinces. Thus the government of Georgia has there no other armed force than that required to maintain the communication from one point to another. Gangea, or Elizabethpol, was incorporated with Georgia during the administration of Prince Tchitchianow. Nougha, a province on the western boundaries of Kahetia, was joined to Georgia at the death of their last Khan, and is under the immediate authority of a military governor. This province, and those of Shirvan and Karaway, far from admitting any Russian troops, have agreed with the government to furnish them, whenever they should require it, their contingents of cavalry.

Thus the Russian provinces, comprised under the name of Georgia, and extending from the southern part of the Caucasus, may be classed as follows: Kahetia, Kartalinia, and Imeretia, Christian provinces of the Greek, Armenian, and Catholic creeds. *Elizabethpol*, Karaway, Shirvan, Nougha,* Mahometan provinces composed of Tartars, sectaries of Omar, and of Persians, sectaries of Ali.

The costume of these various provinces differs but little. They all wear very wide trowsers, two short tunics, the under one always of some bright colour, and the other of cloth, either blue or of a darker hue, the sleeves of which are very wide and open from the wrist to the elbow, and which, when thrown across over the shoulders, is considered among them as a signal for combat. A cap of black lambskin of Astrakhan, with a small crown of red cloth, and boots with long pointed toes, complete their attire. The Tartars, like the rest of the Mahometans, are distinguished from the Christians and

* The population of these provinces cannot be correctly ascertained, owing to the continual emigrations from Persia and Turkey, by which it is increased. In 1823, however, the Christian population was said to amount to 420,000 souls; and that of the Mussulmans to 320,000. When the territory is taken into consideration, this disproportion is striking; but it may be easily accounted for by the thousands of families which have been carried off by the Persians in their various incursions

Armenians by their long beards, which they preserve with a fanatical zeal, and by the top of their cap being turned inside. All make use of the bourka, tied round the neck with a handkerchief, and which is the only winter covering known here.

The character of the Armenians, particularly of those who devote themselves to commerce, is not considered by the Georgians as the most exalted. Always calculating, and engaged in speculations, they would sooner bear with a thousand outrages than with the loss of an ounce of cotton; but the government may safely reckon on them for any useful enterprise by which their commerce or industry is likely to benefit. In this case they are always ready with their loans.

The Georgians, on the contrary, cherishing the remembrance of the exploits which maintained them as an independent nation, are passionately fond of the profession of arms, and enthusiastic for every thing that is heroical and sublime. Their ballads, which are full of extravagant hyperboles, and fanfaronades on their national valour, contribute to keep alive their love for war, which, like the rest of the Asiatics, personal courage is considered as the supreme virtue, a notion which they derive from the sort of guerilla warfare which they have hitherto pursued. The Georgians wear linen like the Europeans, especially since their intercourse with them. In general, they are tall and well-proportioned; have regular features, dark complexions, and black and expressive eyes. It would be difficult to find throughout Georgia a real native with light hair or blue eyes. There is a degree of haughtiness in their carriage and ostentation in their manners, which are not unbecoming men who are certainly capable of the greatest sacrifices; but they are treacherous and deceitful when once offended. They are greatly distinguished from the Armenians by their strong passions, which also render their countenances more animated.

The Tartars wear taffeta-shirts, almost always of a red colour, and which they change only once a year, a circumstance which, notwithstanding their continual ablutions, must give a tolerable idea of their uncleanliness. They are generally very corpulent, have dark eyes, and their complexion is nearly a copper colour. They are serious and circumspect in their demeanour, valiant without boasting, industrious, and hospitable. They love war as a hunting expedition, and are as well suited for a rapid excursion as unfit for a slow and continued enterprise.

The general-in-chief, well aware of the peculiar character of each of these nations, and wishing to give to it the greatest development possible, removed all the obstacles which obstructed the commerce of the Armenians, and thus increased the public prosperity. He excited the noble ambition of the Georgian youth, by employing near his person and admitting into his army a great number of native officers who had conducted themselves honourably, and who

deserved his confidence. And lastly, he imparted to the warlike character of the Tartars all the steadiness of which it is susceptible, by organizing their contingents in as regular a manner, as the natural hatred of every Mahometan for discipline permitted.

The Khans, accustomed, by long abuse of power, to exercise in their provinces all species of tyranny, strove as much as was in their power to impede the uniform march and thwart the organization of the government of Teflis; but the authors of these disorders, far from succeeding in their attempts, were quickly obliged to fly to another soil. The inhabitants of those provinces, however, being too well satisfied with this kind of administration, and having less tribute to pay when they depend on the authority of a military governor, are never very much inclined to second the continual endeavours of Persia, or of the fugitive Khans, to excite them to rebellion.

The enlightened policy of the government of Teflis, and the probity, firmness, and well-known prudence, of General Yermolow, may very justly be said to have conquered the obstinacy of every party, and succeeded in uniting both Christians and Mussulmans under the same power and standard.

CHAPTER XXXII.

Internal commerce—New bazaar—The caravanserais—Mixed society of Asiatics—Caravans—Carpets, gold tissues, Cashmere shawls—Jewellery—Manufactures—Cutlery—The steel of Korazan—Traffic in Georgian women—Furs of the black fox—Fruits and rose-trees of Georgia—Fertility—Georgia compared with Andalusia—Wheat from Odessa—Cultivation of rice—Vineyards of Kahetis—River Koura—Gardens surrounding Teflis—Celebrated hot baths of Teflis—Mode of being bathed by the Tartars—Toilet of the Georgian women—Their dances—Paint—Beauty—Lively imagination—Their chastity and fidelity—Pride of the nobles—Feudal system in use—Persian language most in fashion—Dialects—Literature at a low ebb—Weddings—Motive for early marriages—Funeral of General Ahuerdoff—Funeral rites of the Georgians.

The commerce of Georgia may be said to be concentrated at Teflis; the bazaar, therefore, is proportionably large, and contains all the retail shops, which are distributed in different narrow and winding streets, situated in the old city. The government, wishing to give every encouragement in their power to trade, was building another in the new city, which must by this time be finished, though they had many prejudices on the part of the inhabitants to overcome, as the spot on which it is built was the burial-ground of the Georgians. The caravanserais are also very numerous in that city, and contain the wholesale magazines, which are so well stocked that not only the bazaar of Teflis, but those of Imeretia and Kahetia are supplied by them. Each of these caravanserais forms

a large building, the interior of which is subdivided into a great number of small rooms, not unlike the cells of a monastery, and which communicate with spacious galleries, looking into a large yard, in which are seen pell-mell camels, buffaloes, and horses, belonging to the different caravans, which are continually crossing the streets of Teflis. Thus nothing is more common in these places than to find the Persian and the Turk, the Lesghi and the Armenian, the Tartar and the Greek, living amicably together.

Cashmere shawls, gold tissues, and rich carpets, are the chief ornaments and attraction of the caravanserais, and in great request among the wealthy Georgian families. The attitude of these oriental merchants, sitting cross-legged on their carpets, now with a pipe and now with a kalion,* until they are interrupted by customers, when the suddenness with which they pass from this state of inaction to that of mercantile eloquence and active gesticulation, excite the attention and surprise of a stranger. The gold ducat of Holland is the favourite coin among these Asiatic merchants. Any purchase may be made at Teflis with great advantage when the payment is proposed in this coin.

There are several manufactories in this city, which greatly contribute to its wealth. The enamel in silver, which is much used in jewellery and in arms, is equally beautiful and permanent, as well as the colours, which are extremely bright. The sabres and the kinnjales, or poniards, are carried to the greatest possible perfection. The steel of Korazan is generally used for this purpose, and is the finest known in Asia. The blades are so well prepared, tempered, and damaskened at Teflis, that they are considered very superior to all others, and fetch an exorbitant price. There is also a manufactory of caps both for Persians and Georgians, for which there is a great demand. Indeed, Teflis offers a good representation of the fair of Nijni Novgorode, though on a smaller scale, and there is little doubt but that if once the communication between Georgia and Astrakhan through the Daghestan, and with the Black Sea through Imeretia, should be well established, the market of Teflis will by its advantageous situation, rival that of Nijni Novgorode, and Georgia will then be able to defray all the expenses of its administration and of its army.

It is, however, impossible not to feel surprised at the mercantile activity observable in this city, when we consider that only twenty-six years ago the first and most considerable article of commerce consisted of young men and women, the latter being generally sold for the harem of the Shah of Persia, or for the seraglio of the

* A kalion is a large porcelain or crystal vase, ornamented with precious stones. It contains the water through which the smoke of the tobacco passes, and is in general use among the Tartars and the Persians, who are often seen riding and smoking, followed by an attendant also on horseback, who carries in the holsters the kalion and all the necessary apparatus for smoking, which his master enjoys by means of a leather tube, forty or fifty feet long, at whatever pace he may choose to go.

Sultan. A beautiful Georgian woman was often exchanged for a damaskened sabre, or for an Arabian horse. This infamous traffic ceased with the presence of the Russian army, and the government has since turned their attention to this interesting portion of society, by giving them an education very different from that which was formerly bestowed on them, and thereby increasing their importance in the eyes of their countrymen.

The mountaineers of the Caucasus, and particularly the Lesghis, also bring to the market of Teflis the produce of their industry, and their coarse articles, consisting of bourkas, skins, raw silk, honey, and wax; and take in exchange linen, cloth, iron, and Russian leather. Among the skins brought for sale are found, though very rarely, and at an immense price, that of the black fox. It is asserted, that the only two complete cloaks of this fur were in the possession of the Emperor Alexander and Napoleon, who had received his from the former.

The fine climate and fertile soil of Georgia produce every kind of fruit found in the south of Spain, such as wild vines, olive, almond, pear, apricot, date, mulberry, and pomegranate trees, and woods of rose-trees. All these are seen in blossom in the first days of March. Nature, here so prodigal of her gifts, demands only the cares of man to make Georgia the most prosperous country of the East. Its provinces, like Andalusia, though abounding in every kind of production, are often in want of the corn sufficient for their support. In this case the price of wheat, which they are obliged to bring across the Caucasus, is very high. The communication of Georgia with the Black Sea, an object the attainment of which is zealously attended to by the government, will open a new source of prosperity to this country, and enable it to procure with facility, and at a moderate price, the corn of which they may stand *in need* and which abounds in the market of Odessa. Meantime rice, which is very plentiful throughout Georgia, supplies the deficiencies of the former; but it is to be feared, as unfortunately is the case in some of the southern provinces of Spain, that the cultivation of rice may be productive of insalubrity to the country, on account of the manner of preparing the soil on which it is grown.

Some of the provinces, especially that of Kahetia, in which the vineyards are so numerous, furnish more than sufficient wine for the consumption of the country; and if the example of Colonel Tchitchiwaze (who in the short space of three years which he devoted to the cultivation of his vineyards, assisted by intelligent foreigners, has rendered his wines celebrated) were to be followed, there is no doubt that the wine of Kahetia would reach a high state of perfection, provided, however, they would keep it in casks, a measure which in this country would be easily adopted, as they have excellent wood for this purpose.

The waters of Teflis are said to be very good for dying, and the

them is attributed the bright and permanent colours possessed by the stuffs and carpets manufactured in this city. Nothing however surprises a stranger so much, when he examines the beautifully-made shawls, carpets, sabres, and poniards, articles in horn, &c. as the coarseness of the instruments used for manufacturing the various objects of their industry.

The river Kur, Kour, or Koura, traverses the city of Teflis, and flows through steep rocks. The new town is situated on the heights of the right bank of the river, adjoining the old, which is built in the form of an amphitheatre, on the brow of a hill on which the ancient castle stands. The suburbs called Awlaborie and Yrni are on the left bank. On both sides of the river a multitude of gardens of every description spread far beyond the city, and offer, during the long spring which this country enjoys, many cheerful and picturesque prospects.

The new city is built on an entirely modern plan, suggested by the government, which is endeavouring to improve the old town, by giving to both the streets and houses a more modern and regular appearance. The Armenians, finding it to their interest, efficaciously second the efforts of the government.

The baths of Teflis are situated at the eastern extremity of the city, at the foot of the hill, and on the road leading to the southern provinces. The hot springs pour through the rocks into the baths, and are considered an excellent specific for rheumatic complaints, and for certain kinds of wounds. They serve likewise for the continual ablutions to which the Georgians, like all the Asiatics, are accustomed. The heat of these baths is from 12 to 50 degrees of Reaumur. The sulphureous smells which those from 30° to 40° emit, render them very unpleasant, those used for common purposes being from 12° upwards. They are open to the public night and day, through the whole week, except on Saturdays, when they are generally engaged by the Georgian women.

The basins for bathing are cut near the rock, and underneath the pipes through which the water flows. The baths are divided into three or four grottoes, each of a different temperature, and only one of which admits a little light through a small sky-light in the vault, which is constructed of brick, in the Arabian manner. The baths for the men are exclusively served by Tartars, who are accustomed to this kind of service.

When a person arrives at the bath, one of the Tartars conducts him to a platform covered with carpet, where he undresses previous to his entering the bath. At the door of the second grotto he is met by another Tartar, who, like all those employed in the interior of these dark vaults, which are scarcely lighted by the feeble glimmerings of a few lamps, is in a state of nature. Here he may be said to receive a vapour-bath, produced by the steam issuing from the hot springs. On his arriving at the entrance of the bathing

grotto, a stranger is obliged to carry on his conversation by signs, as very few can make themselves understood by these men. The repeated process of compressing the body, twisting the limbs, making the joints play, and handling one like a sponge, &c. which then commences, has been so frequently described, that I will pass it over in silence, remarking only, that two hours after these ablutions, one feels an extraordinary improvement in the whole frame.

The women, especially those of the higher class, were formerly in the habit of spending four-and-twenty hours in these vaults; but now they only remain here during a few hours, though the whole of Saturday the baths are exclusively engaged for them. Besides bathing, the Georgian women make here their toilet, seated on carpets brought by their attendants. Both old and young make use of a pomatum prepared by themselves, by means of which they preserve the colour of their hair, especially those of an advanced age. They also paint and varnish their faces with red and white, and their nails with yellow, whilst they teaze themselves with endeavouring to make their eyebrows meet, which, in this country, is considered as essential to beauty.

When their toilet is ended, they lie down to sleep; and, on awakening, are served with various refreshments, chiefly consisting of fruits and preserves. Formerly, they never uncovered their faces before a stranger; but at present that custom is so far abolished, that, though they still show some shyness, they only veil while travelling, when they invariably ride astride on horseback, entirely dressed in white, and preceded by a running footman, who is armed with a stick.

On Sundays, the families assemble in the evening, which they chiefly spend in dancing, the ladies always by themselves, and in couples, the various attitudes they use being too wanton to permit the men to take a part in the dances, without, in some measure, transgressing the rules prescribed by decorum. There is some resemblance between these and the national dances of Andalusia, although the music of the former chiefly consists of timbrels and tambourines, and sometimes of a harp.

With respect to the beauty of the Georgian women, it differs according to the various provinces; but those who are best entitled to the celebrity they enjoy for personal attractions, inhabit the country about the Caucasus. According to the opinion of persons who have had the opportunity of estimating their mental qualities, the Georgian women are endowed with lively imaginations, generous feelings, and vehement passions; and, as most of the defects in their character arise more from habit and want of education than from nature, the improvement which they are daily making in the former will quickly cause them to disappear.

In Georgia, prostitution and adultery are almost unknown, though there still exists a custom among the lower class for the parents to

give their daughters, for a small sum of money, to those who wish to live with them; but, as this is done through the intervention of the police, this sort of commerce becomes, in some measure, legal, and prevents the children born under these circumstances from being abandoned.

The women, during the time they are thus united, observe the utmost fidelity, and are as careful and economical in their household concerns, as if they were linked to their companions by more binding ties. From the moment the parents have resigned their daughters, they have no further control over them, nor can they see them but with the permission of the temporary husband, or when they are called to take them back. As the man who forms this kind of connexion must give a pecuniary guarantee to the police, if he wishes his children to be placed in the asylum for orphans rather than take charge of them, they become, from the moment of their birth, children of the government, who not only educate, but afterwards give them a profession analogous to their dispositions.

The Georgians of the lower class do not scruple to marry women who may have been thus living with other men; and when they possess them and their dowry, their jealousy is such, that it surpasses all that is said of the ancient Spaniards. Generally speaking, the Georgian women, whether mistresses or wives, have such a strong attachment for the object of their affection, no matter what his age or personal appearance may be, that they look upon infidelity with the greatest horror.

The pretensions of the Georgian nobility, respecting their ancient origin, are as absurd as any in the world, and most of them claim their descent from David. This is the reason why the majority have a harp in their coat of arms.

They are generally very proud, though they show themselves so only to the natives; for they seldom venture to boast of such ridiculous pretensions to foreigners, the old men among the aristocracy being too well aware of their inferiority in point of education, and the young men knowing that whatever they have acquired in this respect, they owe it to the Russians. Among the Georgian princes the feudal system is still in existence, and, as was formerly the custom in Europe, their vassals follow them to the wars.

The Persian language is spoken among the higher class, as the French is in Europe. There are two dialects commonly used in Georgia; the one by the ecclesiastics in their religious performances, and the other by the civilians. The former is derived from the Greek and the Armenian, and the latter from the Persian and the Turkish languages. As it invariably happens when one nation passes under the dominion of another, many Russian words have already been introduced into the Georgian dialect. The Georgians and the Armenians, unlike the rest of the Asiatic nations, write from left to right. Their literature, though it dates its origin from Tamar, has no claim to that appellation, and is confined to a few

ballads; but the calamities in which Georgia has been involved by the frequent invasions of the Persians and other barbarians, account for the slow progress of learning. During the reign of Heraclius a new grammar was composed, which is still in use. Several classic works were also translated, and various schools established. The first map which appeared in Russia in the reign of Peter I. including some of the provinces of Georgia, was traced by Alexander Bekevitch, a Circassian prince.

Although the Georgian weddings are similar to the Russian, as far as regards the religious ceremony, they differ in other respects, particularly among the nobility. The marriages in this class are always contracted with a view to family interests, and very rarely through love and esteem. It was formerly the custom for the parents to betroth their children from the cradle, and their union often took place at so early an age, that the united years of the bride and bridegroom did not amount to twenty-four. It was by this means that the unhappy parents eluded the tribute both of girls and boys whom the Tzars of Georgia were obliged to send to the Mahometans when they were tributary to them. Another indispensable part of the etiquette was, that the betrothed persons should not have previously seen each other, a custom which, since their intercourse with the Russians, is not so much adhered to. The ceremony to which I alluded above, however, remains unchanged, such being the attachment of these people to their ancient customs.

The bride proceeds to the church covered with a thick veil, in which are two holes for the eyes, and the bridegroom leads her by the hand to the altar with the anxiety natural to one who has not the remotest idea of the physical or moral qualities of his bride. When the religious ceremony is concluded, they are conducted to the house of the girl's parents amidst the firing of musketry, where the couple are placed in the middle of a saloon, the bride still covered with her veil; and all their friends sit round them, for several hours remaining in the same attitude, without uttering a single word, or taking any refreshment; while the bride and bridegroom, by their immobility, appear more like two figures on an altar than two human beings, the latter probably praying Heaven for a favourable denouement of this matrimonial drama. After this long penance, the bridesmaid lifts up the veil of the bride. It may be easily conceived the different impressions which this act must produce in the bridegroom, who, however, folds his wife in his arms, of course more than once, if his prayer has been listened to; and thus often love begins where etiquette ends.

Soon after my arrival at Teflis, General Ahuerdoff, commander of the artillery of the Georgian army, whose house I had much frequented, died in the flower of his age. Although I have always been of opinion, that some better means than funeral processions and parade might be devised to evince our regret for the loss of those we love and esteem, the friendly terms on which I had been

with the family obliged me to accept an invitation to attend the funeral. I therefore repaired to the house of General Ahuerdoff at the appointed hour, where I found the body lying in state. The officers most attached to him acted as pall-bearers, and the military ceremony was in every respect similar to that used in Europe; but immediately after the corpse, the widow and children of the deceased advanced on foot in deep mourning. On our arrival at the church, she was led to the steps of the funeral monument raised in the middle of the church, where she remained during the long Greek requiem, offering the most afflicting spectacle imaginable; and, as if this were not sufficient, the wretched lady and her children were conducted to the top of the monument, to take their last farewell of the mortal remains deposited in the coffin. The scene of distress which followed was of a truly heart-rending nature. It confirmed me in my opinion of the uselessness of these distressing ceremonies, which, notwithstanding their antiquity, I cannot help considering as anti-religious; the object of true religion being rather to soften than heighten our afflictions.

The Georgians observe the same rites in their funerals as the Russians; but some of their ceremonies differ. Thus the horse of the deceased (and there are very few men in Asia who do not possess a horse) always precedes the corpse; carrying the saddle invertedly. Behind the coffin come his relations, bearing his arms lowered almost to the earth; and in the rear follow his whole family, mother, wife, brothers, sisters, and children, uttering at every moment the most lamentable cries. In the church the women remain prostrate on the coffin for several hours, and immediately after the interment the funeral procession returns to the house in the same order as before. The men then withdraw, and the women seat themselves on the ground around the widow, all observing the most profound silence; until one of those who is reputed the most eloquent among them, enumerates at intervals some of the good qualities that adorned the deceased; when the clamorous lamentations, groans, shrieks, and tears commence. The widow, whether she be inclined or not, scratches her face, tears her hair, and does all in her power to disfigure herself. This ceremony is repeated every day for several hours during the space of six weeks; and thus the disconsolate relict undergoes a Lent of affliction. What artifices must be resorted to in order to cause their tears to flow for such a length of time! But absurd as is the custom, it is very difficult to alter the usage here detailed.

In some of the provinces of the Caucasus where the Christian religion is not professed, the same custom is observed. Our surprise, however, lessens respecting these long and weeping mournings, when we are informed that the women in this country are not allowed to marry a second time; for when they do so, they bring upon themselves the execration of their friends; a custom which is perhaps no less absurd than the former.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Hospital at Teflis—Schools—Earthquakes—Public edifices and churches—Death of Princes Tchitchianow and Eristow by the treachery of the Khan of Baku—Ancient fortress of Teflis destroyed—Priests confined in the dungeons—Crimes—Adventures of Majors Lindsay and Mackintosh, on their return from Persia—Mission of Mouravieff to Turcomania—Club, assembly-room, and public library—Reserve of the ladies of Georgia—Their dances and music—Ball at Prince Madatoff's—Raptures of the Turcoman emissaries in witnessing the manners of Europe—Revolt in Imeretia—Assassination of Colonel Poussilewsky—Campaign against the rebellious Khans—Character of General Madateff—Anecdote regarding Father Philip, a Capuchin missionary.—Yermolow's reception of the Persian envoys—Departure of the expeditionary troops from Teflis.

THE Russian government has founded and endowed several benevolent institutions, among which are, the hospital, which is situated in an airy and healthy part of the town, at its northern extremity, and near the Koura, and several public schools for both sexes, in which the formation of manners is a prominent feature: thus bestowing on the inhabitants of these provinces the greatest blessing which a truly paternal government can impart, and opening to Asia the gates of European civilization.

Within the short space of a few months, the new city of Teflis has been embellished by several public buildings, the principal of which are, the house of the general-in-chief, the officers of the government and of the staff; the house of the late general of artillery, Ahuerdoff; that of Prince Madatoff; and those of several nobles and rich Armenians. Besides, as in the capital *the rich* inhabitants are obliged to quarter the officers of the army in their houses, and not choosing to have them under the same roof as their women, they have caused several handsome and comfortable houses to be built, at their own expense, for that purpose. Consequently, Teflis is daily becoming larger, more handsome, and populous; points which meet with every possible encouragement from the government. There is also a public garden, called of the Crown, which is the principal resort of the higher class, and which likewise contributes to the embellishment of the city.

The old houses have, for the most part, no other foundations than the rocks on which they are built; the reason assigned for this being the frequent earthquakes that are felt here. I remember to have experienced one at the beginning of my illness, and during an access of fever, when my apartment and my bed shook for more than thirty seconds.

There are, in Teflis, a great number of churches, which are becoming every day richer by the gifts of the inhabitants, and the care of the priests in increasing the revenues. Among these, the

metropolitan Greek church called Sion is the most remarkable, and best attended. In one of the naves is a tomb containing the remains of Princes Tchitchianow and Eristow, who, in 1800, fell victims to the treachery of the Khan of Bakon, when they were on the point of entering that fortress, which had been invested by the Russian troops, and to which the former prince was invited by the Khan. Trusting to the word of the Tartar, Tchitchianow advanced, accompanied by his countryman Prince Eristow, and a few Cossacks, in order to receive the keys of the fortress; but, as they approached the gates, they were both shot, by orders of the Khan, who sent their heads to the Shah of Persia. Bakon, however, was taken immediately after, and the conquerors embalmed the two corpses, and deposited them in an Armenian church, where they remained until the government caused them to be removed to the church of Sion, and a tomb erected, on which an epitaph is inscribed, stating the principal facts relating to their death.

Towards the end of 1820, the government gave orders for the ancient fortress of Teflis to be demolished, preserving only the dungeons, in which the state prisoners are confined, most of whom, at the time of my residence in that city, were priests of various religions. When I was told this circumstance, I could not help showing some incredulity; but, on my being conducted to the prison by one of the public officers, I was soon undeceived, by seeing through the iron bars a great number of unfortunate men, who, to judge by their appearance, might easily have been mistaken for holy anchorites.

I am not sufficiently informed of the crimes by which all these men had brought themselves into that situation; but there is no doubt they must have greatly transgressed against such a mild and conciliating government as the present one truly is. I have been informed that, were it not for the respect which the military authority invariably manifests for the ministers of religion, some of them would have forfeited their lives on the scaffold.

It is related of a certain missionary, who was sent by his superiors to convert to Christianity one of the tribes of the mountains, that after experiencing the kindest reception on the part of the mountaineers, who are indeed remarkable for hospitality, he was detected in the act of using brutal violence towards one of their beautiful women. The enraged husband stabbed them both on the spot, and ran with his poniard steeped in their blood to tell his friends the injury he had sustained, and stir them up to revenge. This caused an insurrection among some of the tribes, against whom the government were obliged to bring an armed force, to reduce them to submission. I could relate several other facts of a similar nature, which have taken place not only in the mountains, but even in Teflis, if such were the object of my narrative.

The concourse of people at Teflis increases considerably from

the beginning of the month of April; and the variety of costumes, physiognomy, and languages, is then such, that the private parties offer the diversity of an European carnival. There I have met travellers from India and from Greece, emissaries from Kerman, and Persian messengers, in whose company were also two English officers, who were on their return home from Persia, where they had rendered great services to the country, as majors in the Persian army, and with whom I became acquainted through the medium of the general-in-chief, who recommended them to me. One of them, whose name was Lindsey, had gained the particular esteem of Abbas Mirza, for whom he had organized, so far as the Persians are capable of organization, a school of artillery. This officer had brought back to her parents, at Teflis, a Georgian lady, whom Abbas Mirza, according to the barbarous usage of the East, had made him a present of. This lady, who was still young, and of a fine figure, had been carried away, with a great number of others, when she was still an infant, during the last invasion of the Persians in 1795, and had been brought up in the Harem. Major Lindsey, who had lived with her, and had two or three children, was on his way to England to take possession of a large fortune, and had with him one of his little boys, whom I have always seen dressed in the Persian costume.

The other officer, named Mackintosh, had distinguished himself in the service of the East India company at the storming of Seringapatam, and having been engaged in an affair of honour, which had led to serious consequences, was obliged to abandon his banners and take refuge in Persia, where he had been employed in organizing the infantry of Abbas Mirza.

At the time when the Persian envoys arrived, there came with Colonel Mauravieff, who had been sent on an important mission to Turcomania, a country on the eastern borders of the Caspian sea, several emissaries of that country, for the purpose of concluding with the Georgian government a treaty of mutual advantage to the two countries, and whose interests being opposed to those of the Persian envoys, did not appear much pleased with the presence of the former; but they all added to the variety that was observable in the assemblies of the capital since the return of the general-in-chief.

The club of Teflis, which had been but lately established, was projected by both the civil and military authorities of the capital during the absence of General Yermolow, towards the close of 1819. This general, who being a single man could not hold assemblies in which ladies might participate, and who wished to draw closer the social ties between the European and Georgian ladies by means of such an establishment, on his arrival encouraged as much as possible the evening assemblies held there. A vast edifice, which had been just built in the new city by one of the most opulent Armenians of Teflis, was destined for this purpose: and

general subscription among the officers, employés, and Georgians of distinction, residing at Teflis, was raised to meet the expenses of the establishment. A library, which would soon contain a large collection of books, as there were many contributors to it, was formed; several of the German and French journals were taken in; some rooms appropriated for reading, and others for cards, to which both subscribers and foreigners might repair every evening. The club, besides, contains several spacious ball-rooms, with orchestras in the centre. A Dalmatian landlord of an hotel, who had been made prisoner during Napoleon's campaign in Russia, and carried by a Russian general to Georgia, was engaged to furnish the refreshment and suppers with which these parties generally terminated. In a word, every measure was taken to make this establishment prosper, and answer the object of the projectors.

At first many individuals of the Georgian nobility seemed averse to the introduction of this novelty, and showed some reluctance to share in its advantages. Their prejudices against it, however, soon gave way; though the ladies could not be induced to attend until the arrival of General Yermolow at Teflis. But, as the European dances were unknown to them, it was only during supper-time that they came in closer contact with the European ladies and gentlemen; that is, whenever the extreme jealousy of their husbands did not interfere; so that in general the Georgian ladies formed their dances in another saloon, from which issued the harsh sounds of timbrels and tambourines, which they however seemed to prefer to the more harmonious ones of the orchestra of the club.

The Turcomans, who during their stay at Teflis were invited to these assemblies, led by their natural inclination for every thing Asiatic, paid little attention to the European dances, and spent most of their time in the saloon where the Georgian ladies were. These men, who were accustomed to enjoy these amusements only in their harems, appeared greatly astonished at the liberty with which in their opinion, the ladies danced before the assembled party, and could scarcely contain their rapture at seeing the voluptuous attitudes and contortions of the Georgian ladies.

Prince Madatoff, who though belonging to an ancient Armenian family is very much attached to the European customs, gave a ball at his house in Teflis, which is one of the best in that city, and which he had at great expense furnished in the European manner, inviting to his party all the foreigners then in the capital, among whom were the two English majors, and the Turcomans. The astonishment of the latter, who were expressly conducted to the ball-room, was still greater than at the club, when they observed both sexes waltzing together. Every one present thought that these men, who had very gravely seated themselves in the Asiatic manner on the fine sofas in the saloon, and whose eyes were immovably fixed on the whirlings, and, as they thought, embraces of the waltzers,

would have gone out of their minds. Imagining that these dances must terminate in some strange manner, they were incessantly questioning Colonel Mouravieff, by whom they were always accompanied, respecting it, and telling him that he had brought them to a dangerous and unknown paradise.

These Turcomans saw the troops manœuvre; attended some of the assemblies at the house of the general-in-chief, and were also taken to a masquerade, an amusement which is entirely unknown in their country; but there was nothing they admired so much as the expressive looks and twining of the arms of some of the dancers they had seen at Prince Madatoff's.

All these recreations, which are doubtless the best means to create an intercourse between the natives and the Europeans, were shortly to be abandoned by some of us for other occupations more analogous to our profession of arms, occasioned by the machinations both of external and internal enemies. Some parts of Imeretia had just revolted, and commenced hostilities by the perfidious assassination of Colonel Poussilewsky, who, trusting to the general esteem in which he was held, and the good faith of the man who betrayed him, presented himself unaccompanied at a tower in Gouriel, the residence of one of the chiefs of the conspiracy, who had invited the colonel to a country party for the purpose of perpetrating that crime. Some of the conspirators were at that time at Teflis, lavishing their flatteries on the general-in-chief, a conduct by no means uncommon among the Asiatics. On the other hand, one of the provinces of the Caucasus called Kazykoumyk, situated between the Daghestan and the country of the Tchetchenkis, and which was under the authority of a Khan, who delighted in tyrannizing over his people, and committing the greatest atrocities on all the peaceable inhabitants of the neighbouring provinces who fell into his hands, *began* to threaten the tranquillity of the Daghestan by collecting a large army for the purpose of invading it. This Khan, who was united by ties of blood to the Khan of Shirvan, and several others, tributaries to Persia, were secretly excited to rebellion by this power, who, even in 1820, prepared an explosion at the two extremities of Georgia: but which the general-in-chief resolved to stifle in its birth, by immediately sending General Williaminoff, chief of the staff, into Imeretia, and another armed force under the orders of General Madatoff into Kazykoumyk, to punish the rebellious Khan.

General Madatoff is a native of Karabah, and entered the Russian service while still very young. He made the campaigns of 1812, 13, and 14, against Napoleon as a superior officer, and was afterwards employed in Georgia, under the orders of General Yermolow. His knowledge of the language and customs of this country, his warlike character, activity, and noble ambition, together with his handsome Georgian figure, and his refined European manners, rendered him a very useful personage in these provinces. A-

he is still young, and meets with every encouragement and reward from the government; and as moreover he is enriched by the Khan of Karabah, who, either through policy or attachment, has always shown himself very generous towards him and his family; he may still perform important services to Russia, if he should not fall an untimely victim to the hatred of the Asiatics.

Among the officers appointed to compose this general's staff, I was one; and although my illness still continued unabated, I rejoiced in being employed in this expedition, in which, besides the pleasure I should derive from visiting several provinces of this interesting country, some opportunity might offer of distinguishing myself.

Being in the habit, like several other officers, of visiting the general-in-chief, early every morning before the parade, one day the superior of the Capuchin missionaries, Father Philip, to whom I was indebted for many kind attentions during my illness, asked me to take him with me at that early hour to visit the general-in-chief; the rigour of the interdict of his order preventing his visiting at the time when there was a concourse of people. Wishing to please him, and without diving into the true object of his mission, I mentioned, while at table, the wish of Father Philip to the general, who smiled, and motioned to me as if consenting to it. On the following day, I went early in the morning to the convent to conduct Father Philip to the audience of the general; who, when I entered his apartment arm in arm with the Capuchin, was surrounded by several officers in complete dishabille, General Yermolow making no scruple of dressing in the presence of the officers before the parade; and often giving orders in his bed-room while putting on his clothes, without the least regard to ceremony. The general received Father Philip, with all the good humour which characterized him, and spoke to him upon different subjects, both in Latin and Italian. But before he put on his uniform, he approached the father, and placing one hand on his shoulder, and the other on his chest, which was covered by his long beard, said, as if presenting him to the circle, "Gentlemen, here is Father Philip; he is a good devil!"

Nothing could equal the surprise of my companion, who remained motionless and confused until he saw the general preparing to leave his apartment for the parade, when he bowed with all the humility of his ministry, and withdrew. The meaning of this conduct of Yermolow was soon explained to me. It appears that the police of Georgia had discovered a clandestine correspondence between this missionary and some enemies of Russia, who resided in Persia, for which he had been severely reprimanded, and for which he would have been confined in a fortress, had it not been for the esteem and respect in which he was held by several officers and other persons of the Catholic religion. It is impossible for me

to say whether these accusations were true, though Father Philip assured me they were a fabrication of the commissary of the police, who had a personal resentment against him. Be this as it may, the truth is, I felt much hurt by the reception he met with, as I have always entertained for him the warmest attachment, and defended him as much as lay in my power, consistently with my duties.

The influence exercised by these missionaries in the internal affairs of every family who profess the same creed, and who in general refer to them their disputes, considering their decision as a sacred law; the extensive connexions which ever since their establishment in Georgia, nearly two centuries ago, they have had with the first families of the country, on account of their knowledge of pharmacy, and their attendance on the sick; and, perhaps, the correspondence which they still maintain with the few families who have taken refuge in Persia, are circumstances which, doubtless, contribute to excite the suspicions of the police.

Yermolow was in the habit of giving audience every Sunday, on his return from church, to a certain class of foreigners. The envoys lately sent from the court of Persia, among whom was a bosom friend of Abbas Mirza, presented themselves at the audience of the general, who was by no means a stranger to the intrigues of these men with the revolted provinces, and to those they had been planning even at Teflis. They, however, laid before him the absurd pretensions of the Persians relative to the limits of their country, declared their amicable intentions, and expressed in a thousand ways their admiration in the names of the Shah their master, and of the heir apparent, for the Emperor of Russia, and for his lieutenants; and yet even while delivering these protestations, the blood of victims murdered at their instigation was flowing in several provinces!

The look which the general cast on them would have effectually silenced any other class of men possessing less effrontery and dissimulation; and ordering his interpreter to address them only in Georgian, returned a short and disdainful answer, such indeed as their perfidious intentions alone were entitled to. Four-and-twenty hours after this interview the agents of Persia left Teflis, convinced that their machinations were known to the general. This audience took place in one of the principal saloons of his house, and in the midst of a numerous concourse, among whom were several contemporaries of the Tzar Heraclius, to whom this scene was highly interesting; as they could not but rejoice at seeing those inveterate enemies, from whom they had received so many outrages, humbled.

A few days after this audience Prince Madatoff received orders for his departure, and we prepared to quit the varied amusements of the capital.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Lieutenant-colonel Kotzebue—Prince Orbellanoff—Route appointed for the staff of Prince Madatoff—Caverns of the nomade Tartars—Bridge of the river Khram—Advance to the provinces bordering on Persia—The officers regaled by a Georgian noble—Plains of Tchamkhor—Wild goats—Ancient pillar and redoubt of Tchamkhor—Antique medal of Alexander the Great—Snakes—City of Elizabethpol—The old fortress—Gallant conduct of the Khan, who is slain—His cruelties—His demoniac experiments—His immense treasures were concealed—His palace and tower—Description of the city—Wirtemburghers settled near Elizabethpol—Monotonous songs of the Georgians—The author prosecutes his journey to Karabah—Important province of Karabah—River Khatchim dangerous—Chahboulak, ancient town—Snow-capped mountains—Sheep—Fortified defile—Beautiful cataract—Sturdy beggars, and their pretensions—Town of Choucha—River Cyrus—Fine climate—Intermittent fevers—The Araxes—The Khan of Karabah—Secrets of his harem—Sumptuous entertainment—Splendid Tartar of Nougha—Passage of the Kour.

The officers appointed to form the staff of General Madatoff were, as chief of it, Lieutenant-colonel Kotzebue, son of the celebrated and unfortunate author of this name; Captain Bevoutoff, a Georgian prince, aide-de-camp of the general-in-chief; the sub-lieutenant Isakoff, nephew to General Williaminoff; Lieutenant Yakouwovitch, the same officer belonging to my regiment of whom I have already spoken; the young Kasbek, proprietor of the tower where I had sojourned on my crossing the Caucasus; and Prince Orbellanoff, belonging to one of the first families of the country, who was accompanied by a doctor, and by several nobles and other vassals, who formed his Asiatic and feudal suite; so that with the addition of our servants our number amounted to more than forty.

We left the capital at noon on the 7th of May, all on horseback except Princes Madatoff and Bevoutoff, who were to follow us on the succeeding day in a post-chaise. According to the instructions received by our general, we were to perform our journey to Choucha, the capital of the province of Karabah and two hundred and seventy-three wersts from Teflis, without any escort, although our route lay through the Tartar provinces on the frontiers of Persia, namely Nougha, Shirvan, and Karabah. On leaving Teflis, we directed our course to the latter province through the road to Persia, that borders the right bank of the Kour, which is embellished by the beautiful gardens that extend some distance from the capital. About five wersts from Teflis are, on one side, the ruins of an old stone bridge, and on the other the materials collected for the erection of a fortress lately projected, and seven wersts further is the station of Cossacks called Zaganloug, very pleasantly situated on the banks of the Kour. In the evening we arrived at the second station. named Demourtchezalie, after travelling twenty-eight wersts

through a less interesting country, where we spent the night. As the walls of the various rooms in these rudely constructed dwellings are of osiers, they are unpleasantly airy, the more so as the nights in this country are as cool as the days are hot, and they try the strength of constitution of the Cossacks and that of the travellers.

A few wersts beyond this station, which we left very early in the morning, we saw a great number of caverns, which from November to March serve as dwellings to the nomade Tartar families, subject to Georgia, who like the Kalmucks spend on the neighbouring heights the rest of the year with their flocks. In these caverns, the women employ themselves during the winter in making, with the wool of their flocks and very coarse implements, the most beautiful carpets, which are seen in the market of Teflis.

At Krassnoïmoste, the river Khram, which empties itself into the Kour, is crossed by a bridge constructed of brick, forming five arches, which well deserves the attention of travellers. The solidity with which it is built, its pavement, balustrades, internal staircases to the river, and width, together with the ruins of another bridge at a short distance, of several towers, and of a rampart, seem to justify the belief that an opulent city existed here in ancient times. The situation of this bridge further confirms this conjecture, as several roads meet here, namely, those of Elizabethpol, Erivan, Karaklis, and Goumri; that is to say, on the east that of Bakou, which is on the borders of the Caspian Sea, that of Persia on the south, and that of Asiatic Turkey on the west.

The weather was so stormy during the greatest part of the day that we were obliged to halt about noon at Salaglie, and reached, but very late in the evening, Astafinnskoy, which is forty-five wersts from Demourtchezalie. The bad accommodations of the post-house, which scarcely afforded any shelter from the torrents of rain that fell, obliged us to form a tent with our bourkas under a cluster of thick trees, where we made a fire, and where Princes Madatoff and Bevoutoff found us on their arrival at midnight.

At the break of day the weather having cleared, we continued our journey preceded by the general and his companion in their carriage, who started two hours before our departure. We had scarcely travelled twelve wersts when several Georgians sent by their master, who was a friend of Prince Madatoff, came out to meet and conduct us to the tower, which was a few wersts to the west of the road.

On our alighting from our horses, the Georgian nobleman caused several tents to be pitched in a meadow adjoining the tower, where we spent four-and-twenty hours in rejoicings. A number of sheep were killed for the feast, during which wine was profusely served. After the repast every one contributed his song, and dancing followed, the prince and the lowest of his servants sharing equally in those amusements. This nobleman, who was one of the first

proprietors in this part of the country, showed his civility in a thousand ways, and insisted on our accepting sufficient wine, brandy, and dried fruits, for three days' journey.

On the following day we pursued our way through an extensive plain, bounded on the west by a long chain of mountains which extend from Teflis to Karabah, and at night reached Tchamkhor, fifty wersts beyond our place of entertainment. The plains of Tchamkhor greatly resemble those of the province of La Mancha; no trees are to be seen in either; and if this country were as populous as Spain, or as there is every reason to believe it was in former times, the traveller would see in the morning the steeple of the town where his day's journey would terminate. We saw a great number of wild goats in these plains. Some of the Georgians belonging to Orbellanoff pretended they knew how to catch them; but they hunted the flocks in vain. Long before arriving at Tchamkhor is seen a column, at the foot of which is the Russian redoubt bearing that name, and forming a kind of square. Opposite to this place, and on a steep acclivity over which the road passes, are the remains of a bridge of three arches, against which rush the rapid waters of the river Tchamkhor.

The base of the column is fourteen feet square and of equal height, and the column itself is extremely lofty, and resembles, though built of brick, that of the Place Vendôme, at Paris. I ascended to the top of it by an interior staircase, which, though in a very dilapidated state, shows that it has been several times repaired to serve as an observatory in time of war. On some of the stones of the entablature, on which there appears to have been an exterior gallery, are seen some Arabic inscriptions, which seem to be of a more modern date than the column. Some persons are of opinion that it was built in the time of Pompey, and others in that of Alexander the Great. Be this as it may, the number of ruins that are scattered about this spot seem to establish the conjecture, that this column was once the ornament of a considerable city, now inhabited by a few Cossacks.

An Armenian merchant, whom we met at Tchamkhor, sold to me for five roubles a silver medal bearing the profile of Alexander the Great, which he assured me had been found among the ruins of Tchamkhor. According to the opinion of some antiquaries who have seen it, this medal is both curious and valuable. Wishing to present it, with some other curiosities, to the Atheneum of Madrid, on my return to Spain in 1821 I gave it to an Italian lapidary of that city to put it into a case, in whose hands it still remains.

We left Tchamkhor early in the morning by the road to Elizabethpol, which is twenty-five wersts from that place. The plains through which we travelled are completely barren; but though the monotony of the country was uninterrupted we had plenty of occupation on our hands, for such was the number of snakes we met,

which the excessive heat of these days kept in constant motion, that at every step we were obliged to guide our horses right and left, and make frequent use of our sabres. These reptiles are commonly from four to five feet long, and an inch and a half thick. Nothing could be more unpleasant than their crushing under our horses' feet; and this annoyance lasted until we came within two wersts of Elizabethpol, where a number of gardens and orchards spread on both sides of the road, from which of course cultivation excluded them.

The city of Elizabethpol, formerly Gangea, is situated on a plain watered by a small river called Gangea, which discharges itself into the Kour at twenty-five wersts from that city, and bathes the walls of the town. On the right of the road, a little before entering the city, is the fortress, which contains the palace formerly inhabited by the Khans, and which Prince Tchitchianow, when he took possession of it, named after the then reigning Empress. This fortress is constructed with the utmost solidity, and by no means contemptibly fortified; it is surrounded by wide and deep moats, and mounted with Turkish cannon of a thick caliber. It was taken by the Russian troops after some days' siege, and on a second assault. The Khan, who had concealed in the palace his immense treasures, performed prodigies of valour during its defence, and seeing himself closely attacked, withdrew into a battery where he had an iron cannon of forty-eight pounds, which is still seen dismounted near the place, on which he sat astride, and fought with his sabre until he fell.

My limits will not allow me to relate all that is said of the conduct of this Khan, who exercised unheard-of cruelties on all those who were subject to his authority, and who delighted in making even his wives and children suffer the most excruciating torments for the most trifling fault they committed. The interpreter of the commandant of this place, who had lived with the Khan, related to us that his former master, curious to see whether the countenance of one of his most beautiful women was rendered more interesting by suffering than by pleasure, put her to such dreadful tortures that she expired in the midst of them, an experiment which, notwithstanding its fatal termination, he tried on a second with equal results!

During our short stay here, we saw a man who had been steward to the Khan, and who had also experienced his cruelty. As it is the custom among the Mahometans to lower their eyes when any of the wives of their princes pass near them, one day the steward looked inadvertently at one of these ladies whom he was in the habit of meeting. On the Khan being informed of this, he caused him to be brought before him, and asked him which side of his face was towards her when she passed him. The unfortunate steward told him, and the Khan immediately ordered that the guilty eye should be put out, though he still kept him in his service. This poor wretch, having lost his situation by the victory of the Russians, was obliged to accept that of clerk in the mosque of Elizabethpol. Among

other things which he related to us, he said, that since the Russians took possession of that province, there had been only one person condemned by the laws to suffer capital punishment; or in other words, that during the space of eighteen years, he had seen only once what in the palace, and in the presence of his former master, was performed almost daily.

The Russian army found in this fortress many pecuniary resources, which contributed to improve the state of their finances; but the bulk of the treasures of the Khan have not yet been found, as the men employed in concealing them were assassinated by his orders, that no one but himself might possess the secret; consequently the Russian government did not reap all those advantages which they expected from the reputed wealth of this Khan.

The saloons of the palace of the Khan are at present used as an hospital for the garrison of the city. Close to a promenade, which extends to the entrance of the towns, and adjoins the palace, the Khan caused a tower to be erected for the purpose of observing the frequent rising of his tyrannized people.

On our arrival at Elizabethpol I was induced by the commandant of the district to accept of a lodging at his house, which was one of the finest in the city, and the residence assigned to the nearest relations of the late Khan. The city presents a confusion of ruins and houses newly built, most of which have large gardens, which give the town an appearance of great extent, though its population scarcely amounted in 1820 to eleven hundred inhabitants. The situation of Elizabethpol is better adapted for commerce than for war. As a military point it owes its importance rather to the impotency of Persia than to its proximity to the frontiers of that country, and it is believed, that the Russians will demolish its fortifications when the natural limits of Georgia are extended to the river Araxes.

There are two other colonies of Wirtemburghers in the neighbourhood of Elizabethpol, which are said not to prosper so well as those near Teflis, on account of the vexations, extortions, and losses of every kind which these industrious families experience from the Tartars, who look upon them with jealousy, and from whose outrages the government cannot always shelter them.

From Elizabethpol to the capital of Karabah there are two roads, one of which, the post or highway, is one hundred and twenty-five wersts in extent, and the other a by-road, which shortens the journey one-third. All my comrades, and the Georgians who followed Orbellanoff, resolved to travel though the latter; but the state of my health preventing my accompanying them, I left Elizabethpol by the post-road, accompanied by my servant, and an escort of two Cossacks, and passed the night at the station of Karakchaïskoy, nineteen wersts beyond that city.

The unbroken silence of my solitary journey formed a s
contrast with the confused noise and monotonous songs whicl

and day rung in my ears while travelling with the Georgians. The weather was insupportably hot during the day; but the nights became equally cool as I advanced towards the mountains of Karabah. A little beyond Karakchaïskoy I crossed the river Kourakchaï, which has its source in the neighbouring mountains, and flows through these plains until it empties itself into the Koura, at a distance of sixty wersts. That river forms the limits between the provinces of Elizabethpol and Karabah, the latter of which I now entered.

Although this country is entirely uncultivated, the soil is by no means sterile. Parallel with the road, to the west, are seen several thick forests. At noon I halted at Berda, which is forty wersts from Karakchaïskoy, and believing that the remainder of the road was as good as that through which I had been travelling in the morning, I continued my journey with the intention of reaching Chahboulak, which is thirty wersts beyond Borda, before night-fall; but I had scarcely advanced six wersts when my progress was arrested by a small river called Khatchinn, which was so greatly swelled by the rains of the preceding days, that we endeavoured in vain to ford it. Nay, one of the Cossacks in his efforts to find a fordable place got out of his depth with his wretched horse, and was carried away by the rapidity of the current, in which he would have been drowned but for the prompt assistance we afforded him. The Cossacks assured me that these accidents were of frequent occurrence in this place, as the bed of the river not being sufficiently deep often shifted, an inconvenience which might easily be avoided by causing a wooden bridge of a few toises to be erected on its narrowest point.

Having lost more than two hours in seeking a ford, and the evening being far advanced, I was on the point of returning to the last post-house, to procure a guide, when I perceived two Tartars crossing the river on horseback at no very great distance from the place where we were. Having joined them, and asked them to show us the place, they guided us to it, and we crossed without any difficulty, a favour which my servant rewarded by making them a present of a bottle of brandy. In our various attempts to cross, I got so thoroughly wet, as well as every thing contained in my portmanteau, that, being unable to change my clothes, and the night becoming very cool, I arrived at Chahboulak in high fever; but I experienced from the Cossack officer who commanded this post the kindest attentions.

Chahboulak consists of an ancient tower, which for the better security of the post is surrounded by a rampart, and is situated on a hill which overlooks the surrounding country. It has a garden, and a fertile meadow adjoining it, which provides sufficient pasture for the horses belonging to this post. On the following day finding my fever a little abated, I set off at six o'clock in the morning, the

weather also inviting me to continue my journey. Although the mountains of Karabah were still covered with snow, the temperature was very mild, and as I advanced, the country became more varied, the extent of meadow land, and the number of streams which flow in every direction, showing how well adapted it is for the propagation of sheep, which indeed form the principal wealth of these provinces. A little beyond Oskerane, which lies between Chahboulak and Choucha, we entered a defile, crowned with towers, the sides of which are here and there still formed by the ancient walls, which were forty or fifty toises high. This wall, difficult to turn on account of the steep nature of the surrounding country, doubtless formed a barrier in former times to the interior of the country. Beyond this defile the road becomes almost impracticable, and is a continued ascent as far as the capital.

Eight wersts before reaching Choucha there is a cataract, the waters of which fall from a height of one hundred toises into a concave rock. I have been told, that during the heavy rains in winter it presents a number of curious jets, which appear rather the work of art than of nature. At the foot of this cataract we were joined by a singular beggar, whom we saw sitting by the side of the road, and whom I could not get rid of, either by giving him brandy or threatening him, until we reached the city, when I gave him some money, and he disappeared. I was afterwards informed by Prince Madatoff that he belonged to a set of vagrants called debritches, who wandered about these roads and those of Persia, sometimes following the caravans even as far as India. They are almost naked, and have their flesh painted in various colours. They carry a thick club, the ponderous knob of which is studded with pointed flints. These vagabondizing Herculeses, when they approach a traveller, generally present him with fruits, and then follow him, pretending that their company is the best escort he can possibly have in this country; for they have the presumption to believe that no one dares attack a party who are protected by one of them.

On entering Choucha we found the streets in such a wretched state, on account of the incessant rains of the preceding day, that our horses were knee deep in mud; nor can I say much in favour of the general appearance of the city, the houses of which are more meanly built than any I ever saw. General Madatoff, who is a native of this city, had spent immense sums in building amidst these hovels a magnificent house in the European style, which rivals that he has in Teflis; but as it was not yet finished, he had taken up his quarters at the palace of the Khan, where I found him, as well as the rest of my comrades who had but just arrived, and with whom I shared the apartments which the Khan had prepared for us.

The province of Karabah is bounded on the north-east by that of Elizabethpol, on the south-west by the river Kour or Cyrus, which separates it from Nougha and Shirvan, and on the south-

east from Armenia by the chain of mountains seen from Elizabethpol, while the river Araxes divides it from Persia. Its great extent and fertility render it, according to the opinion of those who are well acquainted with its resources, one of the most useful and productive provinces of the Russian empire; and it will become still more so under the equitable and vigorous administration of modern Georgia. That part of Karabah bordering on Elizabethpol may be considered as the only barren and insalubrious district of this province, the rest being higher, and extremely well provided with good springs, is both fertile and healthy.

The fine sky, pure air, and also the considerable elevation on which Choucha is situated, constitute this city one of the most salubrious of the government of the Caucasus. From the moment of my arrival here I experienced a great amelioration in my health, which I enjoyed during the greatest part of the expedition, and until my return to Teflis. It is a remarkable fact, that the fever which prevails throughout these provinces, attacks or leaves the patient with equal suddenness. These variations are the best barometer to ascertain the temperature of the country. The inequality of climate which is observable in the various provinces of the Caucasus, may be compared to that of Spain; for in the same manner as the rigours of winter are experienced at Madrid when at Malaga, Valencia, and Murcia, the spring flowers are blooming—the inhabitants of Choucha surround the fire-side in the month of May, whilst at the frontier, on the banks of the Araxes, they are gathering in the harvest, and preparing the ground for a second crop.

In no city of Asia is saddle-work done with more taste and solidity than at Choucha. The most essential part of the workmanship consists of the curious embroidery, with which not only the saddle but the bridle and stirrups are ornamented.

Prince Madatoff, who reached Choucha on the 11th, had already on my arrival there concerted his measures with the Khan respecting the contingent of cavalry he was to furnish, and which amounted to five hundred horsemen, who were now on their road to Daghestan. Being obliged to remain during the whole of the 15th in that city, Prince Madatoff presented us to the Khan, who invited us to dine on that same day with him, our departure for Noogha being fixed for the following morning.

The Khan appeared to be about forty-five or fifty years of age; he was rather tall; and, like the rest of the Tartars, had a brown complexion, brown eyes and beard; but having lost in his youth half his nose in an action with the Persians, the expression of his countenance was by no means prepossessing. At the time of our passing through Choucha, he inhabited a tower in the neighbourhood, which is very pleasantly situated on one of the hills near the

road of Chahboulak, and where, as a faithful follower of the prophet, he had his harem.

On our arrival at the tower, we were received at the door by the Khan and his secretary, or minister, who is the only officer of state they usually have, and with whom they might very well dispense, seeing the little need they have of him. On the general alighting from his horse, the Khan took him by the hand and conducted him to an apartment furnished in the European style, where, adopting our fashion, he seated himself in one of the arm-chairs. Behind him stood his secretary, and several other officers of his palace, among whom was the memaundhar, who, according to the custom of the country, must accompany any traveller entertained by his master as far as the frontiers of the province. Wishing to see something of the harem, and imagining that the attachment shown by the Khan for European customs might have diminished the severity which the Asiatics observe with respect to their women, we walked towards a very pretty garden, extremely well attended to, and surrounded with cascades, which we imagined belonged to the harem; but the European taste of the Khan did not extend so far. An impenetrable wall concealed his houris from mortal sight. We however were informed by an Armenian employed in the palace, though not without much hesitation and trembling, that there were twenty-three ladies, the greatest part of whom were young, and belonged to the families inhabiting the Caucasus. This information, in times when the Khans could decree the death of their subjects, (a right of which they have been deprived since they became tributaries of Russia, their decisions on capital offences being always referred to the tribunals of Teflis,) would have cost the Armenian his head, if the least suspicion had been entertained that he had disclosed the secret.

On our return to the saloon we found the table laid out for dinner in the European style, with napkins, knives, forks, glasses, water-decanters, &c. The Khan then took his seat at the head of the table, placing beside him Prince Madatoff, who acted as our interpreter in the various questions which the Khan addressed to us. When the general informed him that I did not understand any of the oriental languages, and very little of the Russian, as I was a native of a very distant country at the extremity of Europe, the Khan asked what was the name of the *Shah* of the country in which I was born. I mentioned the name of the dynasty, as being more generally known, brief, sonorous, and more easy to be retained.

The door and windows of the tower were assailed by wretched petitioners, who availed themselves of the presence of Prince Madatoff to make their appeals to the Khan. No sooner did we rise from table, at which we did not sit long, owing to the frugality and temperance observed by all on this occasion, than the Khan took his seat on a cushion which was placed at one of the windows of

the saloon, the blinds of which were thrown open, and a kind of audience commenced. An old man who had three sons, two of whom had been included in the recent contingent, demanded the liberation of the third, who had been imprisoned for some trifling offence. The Khan granted his prayer, and ordered that a certain number of sheep should be given to him, in order to compensate for the loss he had sustained during his son's imprisonment. Several other petitions followed this, which the Khan graciously granted, a circumstance over which it appears the presence of his guests had some influence, as we had as great a share of thanks as the Khan himself.

The conduct of this prince, in every thing respecting the Russian government, if not sincere, was certainly the most artful of that of any Khan; such at least was the opinion of those who had for many years closely observed him.

We left the tower of the Khan, accompanied by the memaundhar, a young Tartar, extremely active and serviceable, who was an excellent horseman; and also by the secretary of the Khan, and several domestics, who did not separate from us till the following morning. On the first day our way to Nougha lay through the road of Elizabethpol; and we spent the night at Chahboulak, where the servants of the Khan had prepared the tents near the redoubt in which I had sojourned, and where we were served an excellent supper. Prince Madatoff, who always manifested much interest for my health, having learned from me the kind attentions I had experienced from the Cossack officer of the post, invited him to supper. This officer informed us, that one of the two men who had guided me across the river had been found by the Cossacks lying dead near a rock, against which he had fractured his skull. The secretary of the Khan, who had known the deceased, told us, that he had heard of his death from his companion, and that this accident was occasioned by his having drunk immoderately of the brandy given them by my servant.

On the following morning we continued our journey, leaving on the right the road to Elizabethpol. Prince Madatoff rode a very small horse, which, however, went at such a quick pace, that we were all obliged to ride at a smart trot to keep up with him. Towards noon we arrived at the banks of the Terter, a small river which empties itself into the Kour. Along the whole of this road we found a great number of snakes, which the heat of the sun invited from their holes to sport their variegated skins. But once on the other side of the Terter, the fields being generally cultivated, the traveller is no longer troubled with the sight of these reptiles, and every where the country presents fine and verdant prospects.

Two wersts beyond this place, in the direction of the Kour, we came to the hamlet in which the memaundhar had prepared a lodging

for us, and a good dinner. This hamlet was surrounded with thick orchards, extending to some distance.

On the following day we started at five o'clock in the morning, leaving the main road, to proceed through by-paths, which were perfectly practicable for our horses. The heat was overpowering, and the road uneven, but very woody, and abounding with game. On our arrival at the Kour, which through this by-road was about thirty-five wersts from the hamlet, where we had spent the night, the memaundhar and the rest of the servants of the Khan bid us farewell. On the borders of the Kour we met one of the Tartar chiefs of the province of Nougha, dressed with more splendour than even the Khan of Karabah, or any of the Tartars of distinction we had hitherto seen. His poniard and his sabre were of very great value, and of most admirable workmanship. The borders of his exterior tunic were beautifully embroidered in gold and silver, the work of the women of the Caucasus. This personage, with some inferior officers, had been waiting for us since day-break on the borders of the river, and had prepared some canoes, made of the trunks of trees, for our crossing the Kour.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Romantic prospects—Grand dinner—The knoutt inflicted—Aretche—Delightful Tartar villages—Nougha—Major Badarsky, commandant—The palace—Enchanting gardens—Population—Silk exported—Banquet—Review—Tartar cavalry described—Veteran horseman—His buffoonery—Pictures of Runstad's exploits—Province of Nougha—Zarab—Tartar sofas and carpets—Hospitable tribes—Officer from Shirvan advances to receive General Madatoff—Encampment of native troops—Orchestra and punchinellos—City of Shirvan—Horses of value in herds—Advance to Fittah—Madatoff's interview with Mustapha, Khan of Shirvan—The Khan's harem—Tent—His ambition—Important conference—Treasures—Humane system of Yermolow—Danger is apprehended at the hands of Mustapha—Georgian captain, an amateur of music—Dinner given by the Khan à la Tartare—Ceremonies—Table service—The pilaw—Children of Mustapha Khan—Madatoff and his officers quit Fittah—Fountain, with Arabic inscriptions—The party ascends the hills of the Caucasus.

The perspective, which the right bank of the Kour presented, is assuredly one of the most picturesque on the borders of this river. Near the place where we were to land stood a large and very ancient mosque, surrounded with various kinds of lofty and wide-spreading trees, among which were some laden with wild fruit. This forest extended as far as a line of hills bearing different aspects, some bleak and barren, some covered with a soft verdure, and others beautifully wooded; the prolonged and majestic chain of the Caucasus forming the back-ground.

Prince Madatoff, with our Tartar guide, another officer, and my-

self, embarked in one of the canoes which, though rowed by only one boatman, took us over in little more than five minutes. The rest of our party were also landed in safety; and as for our horses, they were all unharnessed, and brought by the halter swimming behind the canoes.

We found several carpets spread under the shade of the trees, and some Tartars of distinction assembled there to receive us. We were afterwards served a splendid dinner, according to the fashion of the country, in which the fruits of the season, gathered in the neighbourhood, abounded.

The excessive heat of the day rendered this shady retreat very delightful, and we spent here some hours of repose, which was, however, interrupted by an unpleasant circumstance. It is strictly enjoined to some Tartar guards stationed along the banks of the Kour, to allow no suspicious persons to cross the river. Contrary to this order, a guard had, on the preceding day, permitted one of the robbers who are occasionally met in these provinces, to seize on one of the boats, with which he effected his passage. This fact being proved by some boatmen, Prince Madatoff caused the guard to be brought before him, and ordered the two Cossacks, who conducted him to his presence to give him the knoutt, which they inflicted in such a manner as to leave the back of the offender in the most pitiable condition. This rigour was not natural to Madatoff; there were peculiar reasons which obliged him to act with severity on this occasion. Three hours after, however, the sufferer presented himself to the Prince with the same sang-froid as if nothing had happened, and thanked him that the lashes had not been more numerous.

We left this pleasant spot at three in the afternoon, and, after an hour and a half riding, arrived at Aretche, a village containing about three hundred inhabitants, twenty-five wersts from the Kour, and situated, as are most of the Tartar hamlets, in the midst of a thick forest. That we might not be so much troubled either with the heat, the snakes, or the insects, a temporary lodging had been prepared for us in the middle of a small square. It was composed of two wooden stages covered with carpets and cushions, raised one above the other, and supported by pillars, the highest of which was twelve feet from the ground, and to which we mounted by a ladder. Here we made ourselves as comfortable as the place permitted, and had a grand illumination in the evening, with a very good supper served to us; after which, in imitation of our companions the Georgians, whose good humour still continued unabated, we all joined in the dance, which was from time to time relieved by our songs.

Early in the morning we continued our journey, and at a few wersts beyond the village entered a mountainous and barren country, intersected by a river, the waters of which were of a reddish blue, occasioned by a sort of clay which is found in the ravines through which the river rushes. After travelling for five hours, we arrived

at a small place called Chorkha, forty wersts from Aretche, where we found the same kind of lodging, treatment, and abundance, as on the preceding night.

Our road the next day lay through a populous and well-cultivated country. In one of the numerous villages we passed by, we saw a promenade bordered on each side with trees, extending more than a werst towards a mosque, and ornamented with several fountains, which evinced the good taste of the inhabitants. The cleanliness of the interior of their houses contrasted with the filth of those of Choucha, and the general cultivation of the land where rice is grown abundantly, give a favourable impression of the industry and wealth of the inhabitants of Nougha. Some wersts previous to our arriving at the city, we met the commandant of the province Major Badarsky, and some Tartar functionaries, who came to receive Prince Madatoff.

The great number of gardens extending some wersts from Nougha, and the situation of this city, built in the form of an amphitheatre, at the foot of the mountains which join the chain of the Caucasus at no great distance, offer a magnificent perspective. We entered Nougha at ten o'clock in the morning, and alighted at the palace of the late Khan, where apartments had been prepared for us. As the Khan of this province died without issue, in 1819, it fell under the immediate government of Russia, and General Yermolow appointed to the administration and command Major Badarsky, an officer of considerable merit, who without the assistance of any troop, except eight or ten Cossacks posted there to maintain the communication with the government of Teflis, preserved the greatest order, and encouraged with success the cultivation of this beautiful province. This wise and mild administration, and the diminution of contributions which the inhabitants experience from the moment they cease to support at the same time the avarice of the Khans, and the tribute which they were bound to pay to the Russian empire, essentially contribute to their tranquillity and prosperity. On the other hand the severity observed by General Yermolow for the most trifling faults of his lieutenants, and the good election he generally makes of them, render useless the presence of any troops, while the inhabitants feel flattered at seeing that they are trusted by their new government.

The palace of the Khan was built at various times, and by different architects. The principal part of this building, which was occupied by Prince Madatoff, and covered with carpets and tapestry, offered nothing very remarkable. The apartments of the commandant of the province were in the most modern part of the edifice, and consisted of a suite of rooms, adjoining a gallery, the walls and ceilings of which were ornamented with looking-glasses, bordered by a tasteful foliage, painted and varnished in the Chinese manner, by an Italian who had been employed by the late Khan ten years ago. This gallery looked into a garden, in which there were

several cascades, formed by the waters of the fountains by which this gallery was adorned and refreshed. Between the major's and the general's apartments is another garden larger than the former, and opposite to an interior staircase of the harem there is a basin of white marble, ten feet in diameter; which reminded me of that which is seen in one of the Moorish palaces in Granada, where the Abencerages were beheaded. Indeed the climate, the pure sky, and even the situation of Nougha, bear a great resemblance to that part of Spain, although none of the Khans, notwithstanding the wealth they amassed when they arbitrarily disposed of the fate of the merchants and proprietors of the country, has left any monument that can be compared in taste or magnificence with those raised by the Moors in the two principal capitals of the south of Spain.

The population of Nougha amounts to more than forty thousand inhabitants. The great number of Armenians, who have lately established themselves in this province, contribute greatly to its prosperity, and have set an example of industry to the Tartars, which is by no means general among them. The principal article of commerce in Nougha is silk, which, notwithstanding the large quantity used for shirts and other interior vestments, is much greater than the annual consumption of the country.

On the day after our arrival, Prince Madatoff presented himself at the Divan, accompanied by some of the officers. Above the Prince's seat was placed the portrait of the Emperor Alexander, and beside him were the public functionaries, who, like the rest of the numerous assemblage of Tartars, remained standing during the time that the audience lasted. The Prince explained some doubts respecting the administration of justice in this province, which was the object of this meeting, at the conclusion of which we all repaired to Major Badarsky's, who had invited us to a banquet *in his fine* gallery.

Opposite to the palace there is an esplanade on which Prince Madatoff reviewed the three hundred horsemen, who formed the contingent of Nougha, and who received orders for their immediate departure for the Daghestan. The commandant of these men was a young Tartar of only three-and-twenty years of age, belonging to one of the first families of the province. He had distinguished himself in a similar expedition the preceding year, and held the rank of officer in the Russian army.*

It would be very difficult to find in Europe a regular corps whose arms are in better order than those which this contingent presented, most of which were very ancient, as they were the inheritance of many generations. In all the Tartar provinces there are men who have no other means of gaining a subsistence than serving in these

* Among the Tartars the officers, whatever be their rank, are distinguished from the privates only by a silver cord and tassel wound round the hilt of their sword.

contingents as substitutes for those whose agricultural occupations render their presence at home indispensable. These substitutes present themselves ready armed and mounted, and are willing to act as such for a very trifling recompense. Among these came an old man of about sixty, armed with a musket, a sabre, and a poniard, and carrying on the croup of his horse a guitar, a trophy which he had won in a combat he had been engaged in, from which it was stained with blood in various places, and had received some severe cuts, which he had carefully mended. This man, notwithstanding his advanced age, was very active, robust, and gay, and from the first moment attracted the attention of all as much for his singular appearance as for his gesticulations and drollery, which at once characterized him as a buffoon. Prince Madatoff ordered him, through one of the Georgians who knew him, to join his domestics, and accompany us in our march, rather to avoid the quarrels which this turbulent old man would occasion in the ranks than to amuse us on our jonrney with his harlequinades.

During our dinner two very ugly Tartar women, who had been dancers in the harem of the late Khan, performed various dances and feats for our entertainment, with which, however, we could very well have dispensed. But my principal source of amusement was in the pictures which adorned the saloon, and which represented the extravagant exploits of Runstad, an imaginary hero of antiquity, the Orlando of the Persians, the drawing and painting of which were as imperfect as the verses of the ballad that commemorate his valorous deeds are outrageously bombastic.

We left Nougha, on the morning of the 24th of May, and directed our course towards Shirvan, the road lying for the most part along the chain of the Caucasus. The province of Nougha is as highly cultivated on this side as on that by which he had entered it. Notwithstanding the elevated situation of the road through which we travelled, and the snows which still crowned the summits of the mountains, the heat was very oppressive during the whole day, at the close of which we reached Zarab, a small village fifty-four wersts from Nougha. Here Major Badarsky and myself found an excellent lodging, and a very kind reception. Our host, who was an old man, conducted us to a room very well lighted, and covered with the richest carpet I had yet seen in this province. All the furniture in the principal room of a Tartar's house consists of the carpets and cushions, the gold tissue with which they are ornamented weighing more than the wool which they contain. Having taken our seat, we were served with refreshing beverages and fruits, as delicious as they are dangerous for a convalescent. The conversation of the Tartars, particularly when they are with strangers, is by no means animated, even if their language be thoroughly understood by their guests. They seldom ask questions; but they observe all the rules of hospitality with the utmost strictness.

On the following morning I took my leave of my kind host, and of Major Badarsky, who returned to his quarters at Nougha, and proceeded with the rest of our party towards Shirvan. A few wersts beyond Zarab we saw at a distance, emerging from among the mountains, several Tartars on horseback, who were coming towards us at a sharp trot. The principal of them advanced from the main body, and with a thousand demonstrations of respect informed the Prince, that he was the memaundhar of the Khan of Shirvan, who with his suite composed of about twelve cavaliers was sent by his master to escort us to the capital, and render the homage to which our general was entitled.

The day being fine and cool, and the road good, the general agreed to ride as far as the encampment which, we were informed by the memanundhar, had been prepared for us, and at which we arrived at three in the afternoon, the distance of the day's journey from Zarab being fifty-six wersts. The tents were pitched in the middle of a meadow, watered by one of the numberless streams which flow from the Caucasus towards the Kour. They formed a circle, in the centre of which stood a tent, where an extremely discordant orchestra played a monotonous air for our amusement. A curtain, supported by two wooden pillars, was placed before the tent, behind which two Tartars displayed their punchinellos, dressed according to the fashion of the country, and performed various adventures analogous to the customs of these people. This amusement, which is very ancient among them, is considered by the Tartars as the most ingenious public show.

The old veteran, who had joined us at Nougha, and who had hitherto behaved with propriety, recommenced his follies, and taking up his guitar, sang in a voice more loud than harmonious the ballad of the doughty Runstad. Nothing could equal the *delight* of the memaundhar and of some of our Georgians, who seemed as much enraptured as the bard himself, and who now and then during our dinner remained motionless, and entreated our attention to the fine performance of this modern Orpheus, who thrummed the prodigies of valour of his hero till after midnight.

The valley where we had our encampment lay between Tzakhana, a small hamlet of about forty inhabitants, and the boundaries of Shirvan, which on this side are formed by the rapid streams descending from the Caucasus, and forming the Archipelago which the Kour presents from this province to the Caspian Sea. Early on the following day we entered Shirvan. The country along the road in this province differed from that of Nougha only in its being more woody, and its meadows being more intersected with rivulets; the chief wealth of the country consisting of sheep and cattle. The memaundhar, who was a great breeder of horses, had, according to his own account, about four hundred colts, and boasted that

his master had all his best horses from him, for which he was paid only with a flattering look.

The horses of Shirvan are smaller than those of Karabah. The quality of the soil, generally stony, accounts for their having good hoofs, and for their supporting a good deal of fatigue without being shod; but the habit of riding them whilst they are still colts prevents them from displaying all the force which they would possess, if greater care were taken in rearing them. With respect to the water, climate, and pasture ground, they are pretty nearly the same as those of Karabah. The great number of woods which we saw along our road serve to shelter the horses from the rays of a scorching sun.

In the hope of reaching in the afternoon Fittah, which is the usual residence of the Khan, and fifty-five wersts from the place of our encampment, we continued our journey after our repast. On coming within ten wersts of that city the country is barren, and in some places covered with ruins and tombs, bearing Arabic inscriptions; and the direction of the road, which had hitherto been from west to east, changed towards the north, and after a considerable circuit we began ascending a hill which extends as far as Fittah. A few wersts before reaching this city, we saw a group of about two hundred horemen riding towards us in the usual disorderly manner of the Asiatics, several of whom wore casques and coats of mail, and were armed with lances and leather bucklers. When they approached us, a boy of about ten or twelve years of age, the son and presumptive heir of the Khan, presented himself to our general to receive us, by order of his father. The men in armour were officers and noblemen in the service of the Khan, and the rest belonged to his suite. Being now joined by these cavaliers, our pace was considerably quickened, as our Tartar companions kept continually coursing around us, and flourishing their lances and arms, in honour of their guests, until we arrived at the summer encampment of the Khan, which is one werst beyond Fittah.

Within a short distance of the encampment the Khan, whose name was Mustapha, had his harem built of wood in the form of a square, each side of which was two hundred feet in extent. Near this edifice stood a small brick house, newly built, having only one floor, where he received his visiters, and further on were several kivitki destined for our reception, among which was that occupied by the Khan, where he received us on our alighting.

On our entering, he motioned to his attendants to withdraw, and seated himself on one of the cushions. Prince Madatoff having first given some precautionary orders, and sent to our tents all our officers, Prince Orbellanoff and myself excepted, commenced a long conference with Mustapha, which was by no means an agreeable one for the latter.

Mustapha Khan was about fifty years of age, tall and corpulent,

and of a robust constitution, which did not seem much impaired either by the numerous wounds he had received, or by the remorse which he ought to have felt for his numberless crimes and continual intrigues with the court of Persia. According to general opinion, founded on the great revenues of this province and on the economy observed by the Khan, he had in his coffers more than 600,000 ducats, which in this country is considered a great sum. At the time of the late treaty of peace between Persia and Russia, this province was incorporated with the latter, and consequently its Khan became tributary to Russia.

From that moment Mustapha became the greatest enemy of the Russians, who have often detected him in various clandestine dealings with Persia and other enemies of the government. His desire of swaying despotically, more than his religious fanaticism, caused this hatred, which in our army had gained him the appellation of *the bearded serpent of Shirvan.* He was moreover a near relation and an intimate friend of the Khan of Kazykoumyk, against whom our expedition was intended; but towards which he was obliged to furnish four hundred cavalry, the contingent of his province. It may, therefore, be easily conceived how insincere his conduct must have been on this occasion; but as it was the constant system of General Yermolow never to show any mistrust of the Tartars, General Madatoff was instructed to make no difference in the inspection of this from the two other provinces; neither would it have been just to make the people of Shirvan responsible for the conduct of their chief.

From what Prince Madatoff was kind enough to tell me, Mustapha had during the audience used every endeavour to convince him that the Emperor Alexander had not a more faithful subject to defend his interests, nor General Yermolow a more sincere friend to co-operate in the pacification and prosperity of all those provinces, than himself. While saying this, he repeatedly placed his right hand now on the hilt of his poniard to denote force, and now on his breast in token of friendship.

The audience being interrupted by the kalion, which was brought to us to smoke according to the fashion of the country, the Khan invited us to dine with him on the following day, and we took our leave.

As Prince Matadoff had good reasons to fear for his and our safety during the night, and as we were without an escort, the general from the moment of our arrival proposed that every one of us should perform duty around our kivitki, there being every thing to apprehend from the audacity of Mustapha, and from the facility with which he might take refuge in Persia with his treasures and his women. On the first night, however, our watch was not very strictly kept, owing to a young Georgian captain, who amused us during the evening with his guitar. This young man, who belonged to an

excellent family of Teflis, was the only Russian military gentleman residing in the province of Shirvan. He was placed near the Khan to maintain the correspondence relative to the administration of this province with the government of Teflis. His situation, so entirely isolated, recommended him to Prince Madatoff, who was naturally attached to his own countrymen, and who invited him to spend his time with us during our sojourn in this province. He played on the guitar with a taste and execution worthy of a country more musical than his own. This circumstance, which indeed was here his best resource, had greatly recommended him to the Khan, who like all the Tartars was passionately fond of music.

On the following day, the Khan came to Prince Madatoff's kivitka to pay him a visit, and afterwards conducted us to his own, which was thirty yards distant. Mustapha was as much attached to the ancient customs of the country, as the Khan of Karabah had affected to be to those of Europe. As this was the first dinner entirely in the Tartar fashion at which I had been present, I shall attempt a description of it.

The company consisted of the Khan, the general, most of the officers of our party, and of three of the principal individuals belonging to the family of the Khan, who were all about his own age. These three personages remained standing until the Khan permitted their sitting down to dinner. For the rest, we all sat down on the carpet as soon as we entered the kivitka. Before dinner was served, three attendants came in, the one bringing a silver basin and ewer, the other a flagon of rose-water, with a perforated gold lid, and the third a cotton napkin of various colours. Having all successively washed our hands, commencing by the Khan and the general, and had them sprinkled with the odoriferous water, several other attendants entered bearing salvers, and presented one to the Khan, which contained his dinner and that of General Madatoff, the rest being distributed among us, one salver between three.

Each salver, which was about three feet in diameter, had in the centre the pilaw, or solid part of the repast, consisting of rice, which, after having been boiled and dried, is boiled again at a slow fire, with bits of mutton, butter, dried fruits, and saffron, and afterwards served in a plate in the shape of a pyramid of about a foot high. An Asiatic takes with three fingers of his right hand a portion, which before eating he kneads into various shapes, and tears the meat with his fingers and teeth. The bread, which is made into extremely thin cakes, and is very slightly baked, serves him as a napkin, and sometimes as a spoon. During his repast, as on horseback, he never takes his left hand from his side, a fashion which is invariably observed by the people of *bon ton* among the orientals; but which gives them the air of fanfarons.

Round the pilaw are placed roasted poultry coloured with saffron, and various dried and other fruits of the season. As a substitute

for wine, they have whey, and a beverage made of water, honey, and dried fruits. These drinks are served in large bowls, which have wooden ladles to help oneself with.

On the attendants removing the salvers, the remains of which, to judge by the eagerness with which they carried them away, doubtless fell to their share, the same ceremony of washing the hands was repeated; and indeed when we consider the service which our fingers had performed, it became an indispensable ceremony. Several kalions were afterwards brought, which passed from one to another, as is customary among persons who are on amicable terms.

On this singular banquet being concluded, the Khan put on a fur dress, as if we were in the middle of winter, to guard against the bad effects which the least cold produced on his wounds, and conducted us to the borders of a large pond, which was in progress, and formed in the cavity of the two hills on which Fittah and our encampment were situated. There he had the patience to remain a whole hour, looking at the works, and extolling the great importance of this project, which by its inutility was really contemptible. During this time his attendants alternately presented to him a great number of children, whom he had had by his numerous wives. He particularly caressed one of about two years old, whom he for a long time carried about in his arms. In a field near this pond we saw about one hundred camels which belonged to the Khan.

Towards the close of day the Khan left us to withdraw to his harem, while we remained in our solitary encampment, each in his turn watching, in the silence of a dark night, the approach of suspicious men, who roamed about our tents, and who, together with the camels, kept us every moment on the alert, increasing the disagreeableness of our watch.

Prince Madatoff, having concluded his affairs in this province, fixed our departure for the following morning, and we took leave of Mustapha, who received us in his palace at Fittah, where, besides his secretary, we met various other personages, among whom was the Beck, or chief of the district by which we were to leave the province, and who had arrived on the preceding day to pay his respects to the general. The Khan could scarcely conceal his desire of delaying our departure for some days, and gain the time he so much wanted for the accomplishment of his own ends; but the contingent of cavalry of this province having obeyed the orders of General Madatoff of proceeding to the Daghestan, Mustapha had no pretext to urge in favour of his wishes.

Fittah became the capital of Shirvan twelve years ago, when the celebrated Chamekhia, its former capital, was laid in ruins, at which time the Khan transferred his residence to the former city, and was followed by all those who survived the disasters to which this province has been a continual prey. The present population is computed at 28,000 inhabitants. The road from Fittah (which we left

on the 28th, at nine A. M.) to Southern Daghestan lies along the foot of the Caucasus, in an eastern direction, for more than fifty wersts, which is about the distance from that city to the boundaries of the province. During our day's journey we met a great number of shepherds and nomade families, who with their flocks were removing from the plains, where the heat at this time of the year is excessive, to these elevated lands; and we halted for the night near some ruins, where there was a fountain of excellent water, having three jets, several relievos, and some Arabic inscriptions. The Beck, who accompanied us, informed us, that this fountain had belonged to a summer palace of the Khans of Shirvan, which had formerly stood near this spot, and which, like so many other places, had been laid waste during their continual wars.

The Beck caused several large fires to be made, in order to render our night encampment more comfortable, and had some sheep brought from the flocks in the neighbourhood, which he amused himself with killing with his poniard. His Tartar attendants then cut the meat in small pieces, and, putting it on wooden skewers of four or five feet long, roasted it at our fires. This manner of dressing the meat is general among the Tartar soldiers, who, in default of skewers, use the ramrods of their long muskets.

Whilst the Beck and his people were employed in preparing our simple but wholesome supper, we were all sitting round the fountain, listening to the music of the Georgian officer, which in this romantic spot was really delightful.

On the following day we left our bivouac at dawn, and parted from our musical Georgian, who returned to his post; and as some of the individuals of our party were well acquainted with our road, Prince Madatoff dispensed with the further attendance of the Beck and his suite, and we commenced ascending the steep paths of the chain of the Caucasus that separate Shirvan from Daghestan.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

The Khana or province of Bakou—Abundance of naphtha—Guebres—Persians and Hindoos worshipping fire—Tenets of Zoroaster's followers—Phenomena of naphtha—Forests—Bridge over a frightful chasm of the rocks—Gorges of the Caucasus described—Magnificent and valuable timber—Yea Beck—Rich lands—Chess a favourite game of the Tartars—Veterinary practice—Town and province of Kuba—Craggy banks of the Kulinka—Baron de Wrede the commandant—Ravines—Jealousy of the Kubans Gregorieff, commissary-general—Madame Gregorieff—Ashan Khan joins the Russian expedition—Scotch missionaries—The Bible translated into the Tartar and Eastern dialects—The troops march from Kuba—Cherry-trees—Bivouac—Fields covered with rose-trees—Abundant game—A large and exquisite partridge—Delightful province—Ashan's cavalry is headed by his valiant brother—Description—Town of Tchiakour—Park of artillery—Handsome females—Rich carpets of Tchiakour—Difficult passage of the torrents—The troops march for the Daghestan.

On leaving Shirvan through the rocky defiles of the Caucasus, the Khana of Bakou is left on the right. This province, which became subject to the Russian empire at the time of the tragic death of Prince Tchitchianow, though the smallest of any in the government of Georgia, is nevertheless one of the most productive to the government; not only on account of the advantageous situation of its capital, on the borders of the Caspian Sea, but for the great abundance of naphtha found throughout the province. An Armenian pays an annual rent to the government of 200,000 roubles, paper money, for the produce of a certain number of wells. The greatest part of this article is exported to Persia, and the remainder is used in the country to preserve the roofs of the houses and other buildings.

In the vicinity of Bakou are still found some families of Guebres, or ancient Persians, and of Hindoos, who worship a Supreme Being under the symbol of fire. There is a place about twenty wersts from that city, where the priests of Zoroaster still maintain, by means of the naphtha, the primitive fanaticism of the fire-worshippers. Those priests, who have no other clothing than a piece of linen round their waists, pretend that the sacred fire commenced burning on that soil some millions of years ago; but as it seems they believe in the universal deluge, they must resort to some miracle to have preserved this flame from the inundation, especially as they have never inquired into the physical causes that produce the naphtha. According to their belief, the Supreme Being cast Satan into these gulfs, from which immediately flames issued, which the Guebres are enjoined eternally to preserve. Notwithstanding their fanaticism, they do not hesitate in cooking their victuals by that fire, which they light in the same manner as gas, by applying a torch to the cavity

made in the earth. The flame is extinguished by placing on it a wet cloth. There are springs, or pits, which produce daily more than half a ton of naphtha. In summer, when the southern winds increase the heat of the atmosphere, strong oscillations are experienced on that soil, and various phenomena witnessed.

To return to our journey. Our road on that day lay across the chain of the Caucasus, which we must traverse to enter the Daghestan. The torrents in this part of the country were not so swollen as in other places of the Caucasus; but the road was greatly impeded by the enormous fragments of rocks, which the impetuous rains and thaws had detached from the mountains, and by the thick forests which appeared as if no hatchet had ever cleared any part of them, and which obliged us to proceed part of the way on foot. On the most elevated point of the road, where we hoped to have conquered the principal obstacles, we met with an enormous fissure of about 40 feet wide, and more than 3000 deep, over which is a rustic bridge, formed simply of three trunks of trees covered with branches not more than three feet wide, and having no balustrade or railing of any kind.

Prince Madatoff, who always took the lead, and who rode on a small poney, on reaching this bridge did not hesitate in passing over it on horseback, an example which we were all obliged to follow, lest we might subject ourselves to ridicule. It is, however, impossible to describe the sensation experienced on crossing this frightful gulf, down which the rider and his horse must inevitably have been hurled by the least mistake or hesitation in either. When all our party had crossed without any accident, one of the officers asked General Madatoff the name of the bridge, to which he replied, that the most appropriate he could think of was "Beelzebub's bridge." As we were the first Russian officers who had ever passed that way, and as there was not the slightest trace of footsteps on horseback, it was not surprising that the government should not have ordered a more convenient one to be constructed. Our descent, notwithstanding the brisk pace at which we rode, occupied us for two long hours. The forests were so thickly studded with trees, and the mountains bordering the road so steep and close to each other, that though it was but eleven in the morning, and the day bright and sunny, we travelled, from the moment we left Beelzebub's bridge, as if it were through a cavern. At the foot of these lofty hills the road still continues, though gently sloping through a country progressively widening, but fenced on each side by thick forests, the trees of which are of extraordinary dimensions and beauty. When an enlightened despotism, the only system which seems adapted to the actual state of that country, shall bring the industry of those provinces into life, the forests of the Caucasus will supply abundant timber for the dock-yards of Bakou and other ports, and be their principal source of wealth. The finest trunks of Asturias and of

the Segura in Spain, used in the construction of the ships of war, which are reckoned the most solid that float on the ocean, cannot be compared in breadth or height to the gigantic trees which are seen in these forests.

On leaving them behind, we entered the province of Daghestan, on the frontiers of which we met a Tartar officer, whose name was Ysa Beck, who with several others was coming to meet us. The country from this point to Kuba appeared like a prolonged garden, the variety and productions of which every moment reminded me of my native land. Half an hour after being joined by those Tartars, we arrived at a hamlet called Khilbar, where lodgings had been prepared for us by Ysa Beck in an old mosque, which for many years had ceased to be a place of worship. The distance from our night's encampment to Khilbar is fifty-six wersts, which had occupied us sixteen hours without having halted any where.

Under a portico close to our quarters we saw some Tartars deeply engaged in playing at chess, a game which is familiar even to the lowest class in this country from the remotest antiquity. We spent the night in the only saloon formed by the nave of the mosque, whose vaulted roof was lighted by various lamps. The voracious appetites of the party being appeased by the pilaw, the boisterous mirth of the Georgians, and the twanging guitar of the Tartar ballad singer of Nougha, prevented our taking scarcely any repose.

One of my horses of the race of Karabah, which possessed all the good qualities general to his breed, having stumbled on the road and sprained his hip, Ysa Beck recommended me a Tartar who was celebrated for the wonderful cures he had performed. Desirous of seeing the process, and anxious for the preservation of an animal that was to share with me the fate of our campaign, I spent the night in observing both the patient and the leech. The remedy consisted of a decoction of various succulent herbs and a good portion of salt, which he repeatedly applied to the inflamed part, and then covered with a sheepskin half shorn, the woolly side of which was placed inwardly. There is no doubt that the warmth of the skin must have greatly contributed to the rapidity of the cure, which is generally effected in four or six hours, according to the degree of inflammation.

At five o'clock on the following morning we started for Kuba, through a road alternately bordered with orchards and gardens. The heat was here as excessive as that experienced in the plains of Castile in the month of July. Having travelled during the whole morning without halting any where, we reached Kuba about noon. This city is the ancient capital of the Khana bearing its name, and when it became a province of Russia, was named the capital of the Daghestan. It is, however, by no means so good a town as several others of this district. The streets are so narrow as scarcely to allow a vehicle to pass through, and the city is surrounded by an

ancient half-ruined wall, near which runs the river Kulinka, whose steep and craggy banks give it a barren and wild aspect.

Our party alighted at the house of General Baron de Wrede, who was then the commandant of that district, and at whose house Prince Madatoff and myself took up our quarters during our residence at Kuba. My friendship with Baron Renemkamph, who was a countryman of General de Wrede, powerfully recommended me to the attentions of the latter, who, however, displayed an unbounded hospitality towards every one of our party. From the gallery of the house of the general are seen a number of picturesque ravines, with which the Caucasus is on this side intersected; but which add to the dismal appearance of the city. Nothing but the intimate union of the Russian military and civilians can render supportable a residence in Kuba; for commerce has hitherto made so little progress here, that even those persons who have resided long in Georgia cannot help remarking the want of active intercourse among the natives. This, however, is also more or less observable in all the Tartar provinces bordering on Georgia. At Teflis both sexes are indistinctively met in the houses and in the streets; but in these provinces the one acts as jailer to the other, and whether it be in society, in the public promenades, or in travelling, not a woman is to be seen; but when this occurs, we scarcely recognise in her a being endowed with the same faculties and entitled to the same rights as her oppressors, for we only see some moving object concealed under drapery. Mustapha Khan, during our residence at Fittah, gave orders for a young Circassian woman, who was on her way to his harem, to be kept concealed in the mountains until our departure. The jealousy of these men, indeed, is preposterous, and seems to extend even to the thoughts of others, without considering that there can be no offensive intelligence existing between a mere spectator, and a woman who from head to foot is so completely enveloped as not to allow the least part of her person to be seen, and who, moreover, is guarded by men whose summary mode of punishing effectually prevents the least scrutiny on the part of the spectator. The prophet enjoins the faithful to be heedful of their religion and their women, and to this precept, fanatically observed, must be attributed their excessive jealousy.

The house which our party most frequented at Kuba was that of the commissary-general Gregorieff, who with his amiable lady resided in this city. The society of Madame Gregorieff, dressed in the European style, and possessing the accomplishments and attractions of a well-educated woman, was a novelty so highly valued by us that we could find but little time to examine the ruins, ancient medals, mineral and botanical productions, fine horses, precious arms, and other curiosities which render this country so interesting to a foreigner. The distance of our respective countries, and the remote and isolated place where our acquaintance was formed, drew closer

our social ties, and I may say, without any exaggeration, that a minute of intercourse in this country is equal to a year's companionship in Europe. Two hours after our arrival at Kuba, our party were such intimate friends with the resident Europeans, that a stranger might have supposed we were all members of the same family, when if instead of having met those individuals on the borders of the Caspian Sea we had seen them on those of the Vistula we might perhaps not have remembered their names. Nor were the attractions of European manners less felt by General Madatoff, who evinced as much pleasure as any of us in the society of Madame Gregorieff. This lady, who had a great taste for botany, shared with her French gardener the care of forming an extensive nursery for a botanical garden which she had projected.

On the day after our arrival at Kuba, the 31st of May, while we were at dinner, we heard the trampling of horses, and soon after two personages, who were to figure in a distinguished manner in our expedition, made their appearance, accompanied by a numerous retinue. One of them was Ashan Khan, the chief of a small province adjoining Kuba, and situated between this, that of Derbend, and Kazykoumyk, the province against the Khan of which this expedition was intended. He was a man of about forty-five years of age, and of a portly presence; and was to be invested with the authority of the revolted Khan. The other, who was a brother to Ashan Khan, and considerably younger, possessed a truly fine person, and all the qualities of an Asiatic champion. He was the commandant of the strong contingent which his brother brought into the field, and the personal enemy of the Khan against whom he was going to fight, and from whom he had received injuries which among the warriors of the Caucasus are never forgiven.

Both brothers had rendered important services, and given evident proofs of attachment to the Russian empire. They were both decorated with the cross of St. Wladimir, which they seemed proud of wearing at their breasts, free from all religious prejudices. General de Wrede invited these two brothers and some of the nobles of their suite to partake of the repast, an invitation which they accepted without the least scruple, indiscriminately taking their seats among us, although this was the time of abstinence prescribed by the religion of the prophet. This neglect, however, may be attributed to the perceptible change which was operating in their religion, as we had reason to believe from their frequent perusal of the Bible, which has been translated into the various languages of these nations, and which is continually distributed by the Scotch missionaries of Circassia and Astrakhan, sent into those countries by the London Bible Society. These respectable clergymen, who have found in General de Wrede a zealous friend, and who moreover enjoy the entire protection of the Russian government, have endeared themselves to the natives by a conduct truly exemplary, while their estimable

families on their side do every thing in their power to second their laudable endeavours.

Ashan Khan, who had heard many favourable accounts of these missionaries, always carried with him a copy of the Bible, which he had received from General de Wrede, and for which he appeared to have the greatest veneration, a circumstance which greatly increased the esteem in which he was generally held by the Russians.

The troops of our expedition were encamped at a day and a half's march from Kuba, in the direction of the province of Kazykoumyk. The park of artillery, arrested by the difficulties of the road, was stationed at Tchiakour, a hamlet on the right of our road in the direction of Derbend, and waited the orders of Prince Madatoff. The contingents of Nougha, Karabah, and Shirvan, which almost all arrived at the same time in the neighbourhood of Kuba, were ordered to join the encamped troops, while 100 Cossacks, and the whole of the cavalry of Ashan Khan, remained at Kuba to accompany the general on his departure. The convoy of provisions, so embarrassing in a march, though indispensable in a country affording but few resources, which were considered insufficient even to the frugality of the Russian soldiers, was intrusted to the commissary Gregorieff, who received on that afternoon orders to depart.

On the 1st of June at break of day, the brother of Ashan Khan commenced his march at the head of all his troops, who soon after were followed by the squadron of Cossacks. At six in the afternoon our party left the city accompanied by General de Wrede and several of his officers, who as usual escorted us part of our way.

The cultivation of the fields in the vicinity of Kuba, is by no means such as its rich soil appears to merit; but the thick foliage of the lofty trees with which the road is bordered, shelters the traveller from the burning rays of the sun. During our residence at Kuba, the heat at ten o'clock in the morning in the shade, was 30° Reaumur, a degree of heat which in the Havannah is scarcely greater in the summer months. Towards dusk we arrived at a pleasantly-wooded valley, near a hamlet belonging to a Tartar, who invited us to his house, an offer which the general declined, and we bivouacked surrounded by the squadron of Cossacks under some cherry-trees heavily laden with fruit.

On the following morning, we left our place of bivouac with the rising sun, and proceeded through picturesque fields, covered with rose-trees. The exquisite fragrance emitted by them, and which the morning dew rendered more fresh and grateful, the varied warbling of a multitude of birds who had their nests in these delightful bowers, and the sight of several cascades whose playful waters leapt from their steep summits, produced on every sense an indescribable feeling of delight. One of the nobles belonging to the suite of Ashan Khan made me a present of a small flagon of oil extracted from these roses, and which, when some months after I

compared with the best otto of roses of Turkey, surpassed it in fragrance and delicacy.

Beyond these woods of roses spreads an extensive forest, so much abounding in game, and doubtless so little pursued by the Tartars, that notwithstanding the noise of our numerous group, we frequently had within the reach of our whips the largest partridges that are perhaps met with in any country. Having weighed one of them taken alive by a Tartar, it exceeded thirty-two bullets of an ounce each, a weight which, considering the lightness of the flesh of these birds, is really extraordinary. The flavour of the partridges of the Daghestan is, according to the opinion of connoisseurs, superior to that of the pheasants found on the borders of the Alazann.

After halting for a short time in a meadow watered by a clear rivulet, where in all appearance the battalions of the expedition had encamped, we were overtaken by the cavalry of Ashan Khan, who had bivouacked on the preceding night at a short distance in our rear. It is not possible for any of the Tartar provinces to present a more splendid contingent than that brought on this occasion by Ashan Khan. Whether it was the interest felt by these troops in entering on a campaign in which they were eager to avenge on their enemies the vexations they had experienced from them: or whether the enthusiasm by which they were animated in having at their head the brother of Ashan Khan, who according to the general opinion was the most valiant warrior known among the Tartars, and at whose war-cry hundreds were ready to join him; or whether Ashan Khan, free from the religious fanaticism of the Mussulmans had laboured to draw his people from the obscure condition in which, like the rest of the Tartars, they had been sunk for ages, by giving them the benefits of a better education, a more regular organization, and more just notions of religion; certain it is, that the 800 men of light cavalry who were extremely well mounted and armed, and whose martial air and cheerful countenances evinced the pleasure they felt at this enterprise, formed an assemblage of warriors the most perfect that could be found in these provinces.

When one of our officers mentioned to Ashan Khan the splendour of the personal guard of Mustapha Khan, he said that when he was among his people, he did the same as Yermolow in his bivouac, namely, that he was his own guard; that when he issued against his enemies, he was followed by all his people, and even his own children, though some were not more than six years old, a truth which I shall soon have an opportunity of confirming; and that the Emperor might reckon upon him as he did upon the cross that hung on his breast. Ashan Khan and his brother, however, though companions in arms, and both men of superior minds, could not endure each other, and nothing but the fear of displeasing the general-in-chief seemed to keep their wrath within bounds. The latter avoided

as much as possible to join us in our march, as he was averse to exchange words in a conversation where his brother took a part. All the nobles of his province by whom he was surrounded were armed with lances, made of long and light canes, like those of the Coords of Persia; they wore also casques, coats of mail, and round shields, which, though very ancient, were as bright as if they had been just made. This armour is among them the best proof of their noble lineage, and serves as their letters patent. Whatever they possessed of value, useful in war, they wore about their persons, and they appeared to consider this campaign as the most important in which they had ever been engaged, not only because it involved their nearest interest, but because they saw it supported in a manner that seemed to insure its success.

The weather on this day was as hot as on the preceding ones, and the road occasionally intersected by the ravines descending from the chain of the Caucasus, which was on our left. At ten o'clock in the morning, we arrived at Tchiakour, a town containing about 1000 inhabitants, and where, as has already been mentioned, the park of artillery was stationed. The town, which is considered very healthy, is situated on the heights which command the impetuous torrents, called by some, of the Koura, and by others of the Zamaour, whose breadth, at all times considerable and in many places dangerous, was in this month greatly increased by the thawing of the snow on the summits of the mountains, which, according to the accounts of the natives, would swell the torrents in proportion as the heat became more intense. This circumstance retarded our departure from this place, as it was necessary that our artillery should cross the Zamaour; and as the rapidity of the torrents, which bore along large trunks of trees and fragments of rocks even as far as the Caspian Sea, rendered any attempt to construct a bridge impracticable. The whole of the afternoon was therefore spent in endeavouring to find a ford, and as night was fast approaching without our finding one, we were obliged to suspend our vain efforts until the following morning in order to avoid any misfortune.

Having heard at Kuba the beauty of the women of Tchiakour highly extolled, and desirous of ascertaining the truth, we made various lawful incursions in the town to explore the rare beauties it contained. Much to our satisfaction, we found that we had not been misinformed, and moreover that by their intercourse with the officers of artillery stationed there they had lost much of their native rusticity, which frequently destroys the favourable impression which their fine persons excite.

The interior of the houses in Tchiakour is generally clean and comfortable, and their carpets, the manufacturing of which is their chief branch of industry, are of a superior quality, their colours being as bright and permanent as their patterns are tasteful.

On the following morning at day-break, the Zamaour having de-

creased half a foot, Prince Madatoff gave orders for our departure, and the train of artillery and ammunition commenced their march, Ashan Khan resigning to them the guide, in whom he had the greatest trust, while our party at the head of the cavalry followed in single file our own guide, who was a native of the town, and who, fearful of our encountering some accident for which he might be made responsible, showed considerable timidity. From the moment we commenced crossing the torrents, the water was up to our saddles, and our horses got entangled with the trunks and branches that floated about, while the breaks and stones of the uneven soil greatly increased our difficulties, which were still more numerous when we attempted to climb the steep and rocky banks that interposed themselves in our passage. On leaving these banks we again immersed in this apparently interminable sea, in which we made so little progress, that even after struggling for two hours with the torrents, Tchiakour was still within cannon-shot, and though we commenced fording at five o'clock in the morning, it was past ten when we reached the opposite shore.

The scene which so many men scattered over that wide sheet of water presented, in their various dresses, uniforms, and armours, and the peculiar attitudes of each in endeavouring to preserve his arms from the water, was highly picturesque and interesting for the spectator, though somewhat irksome to the actors.

The continual wars of which the Daghestan has been the theatre must at all times have been rendered memorable by these impetuous torrents, in which, notwithstanding the good order and precautions we had observed, we lost two men and six horses. At length being all assembled at eleven o'clock in the woods which extend along the bank, we began our march, and soon after entered the territory of Ashan Khan.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Arrival at the encampment of Prince Madatoff—Preparations of Surghai Khan—The command of the cavalry is intrusted to Ashan Khan—Review of the Tartar contingents—Prince Orbellanoff—Dissension between Ashan Khan and his brother—Visit of the youthful sons of Ashan to Prince Madatoff—Military operations—Description of the town of Kourah—Fortress of Chiragh—Deficiency of timber—Inhumanity of the Lesghis—Advance upon Joserek—Position of Surghai Khan—His cavalry described—Attack made by Ashan's horse—Ferocity of the combatants—Death of Ashan Khan's brother—The enemy's cavalry routed—Preparations for a general attack on Joserek—Camp of Surghai Khan—Perilous post of the author—He successfully leads his column to the assault of Joserek—Surghai Khan flies—The Lesghis—Their arms and warfare—Their intrepidity—Conduct of the Russian soldier in action—His devotion—The author meets with a Tartar horseman, formerly of Napoleon's Mameluke guard.

Ashan Khan, to whom our presence in his territory so lately invaded by the enemy was a subject for congratulation, had prepared refreshments for us at the first village we came to, which were served in the Asiatic style, in a gallery commanding a beautiful prospect, and shaded with luxuriant vines. Here we made a short stay, and arrived in the afternoon at the encampment of our troops.

Prince Madatoff received under the shade of a wide-spreading chesnut-tree, near which his tent had been pitched, the chiefs of the various contingents then assembled. The artillery, which followed in our rear, joined us at day-break, and a review was fixed for the following day.

Our camp, the situation of which was highly advantageous on account of the abundant pasturages, woods, and excellent water in its vicinity, commanded a view of the whole eastern part of the Daghestan, at the furthest extremity of which we could clearly distinguish Derbend, and the line of coast along the Caspian Sea.

From the moment of our arrival at this encampment, Ashan Khan received frequent intelligence respecting the movements of the enemy, the import of which was, that Surghai Khan, the chief of the insurrection, on learning the advance of the Russian troops towards his territory, had ordered his own to concentrate on the frontiers, while he still continued his vain endeavours to oblige the Russian garrison in the fortress of Tchirah, which was eighty wersts from our camp, to surrender; that he had ordered all men capable of bearing arms to join his army, enacting the severest punishments, in case of disobedience, so that it already amounted to more than 40,000 troops, of whom 7000 were cavalry; and that he was fortifying Joserek, the most impregnable position of his province, for which purpose he availed himself of the artillery which had been left there by the Persians, in some of their incursions, and was determined to defend himself to the last.

By the order of the day, the cavalry was placed under the command of Ashan Khan, who held the rank of colonel in the Russian army. Prince Orbellanoff and the rest of the Georgians employed in this expedition were also to act under his orders, circumstances which occasioned some angry scenes between the two rival brothers, and to which I shall soon have occasion to advert.

On the morning of the 4th, the various battalions of our expeditionary army were assembled at the appointed place. At the head of our line was the artillery, and at the opposite extremity the whole of the Tartar cavalry, formed in such regular order as is by no means common among the Asiatics, in whose martial countenances the pleasure they felt at the inspiring sounds of our military music, so well adapted to produce a deep impression on their fantastic imaginations, was strongly depicted; while the beauty of the spot on which the review took place, and the fine weather, imparted to it additional splendour.

Our force consisted of twelve field-pieces, belonging to the eighth brigade of the army, two of which were served by Cossacks of the Terak, who in every respect answer the object for which they are destined; of the second battalion of grenadiers of Georgia; of the second and third of Absaron, line; of two more of light infantry; of the squadron of Cossacks; and lastly of the 3000 light cavalry, to which the various Tartar contingents amounted. The similarity in equipment of these troops with those of the enemy, and the confusion which this might occasion, rendered the adoption of some distinctive mark necessary, and Ashan Khan caused the whole cavalry to wear a branch of broom in their caps, or casques, in the manner of a plume, which for their own preservation they wore during the whole campaign. The custody of the convoy, which was coming from Kuba towards our encampment, was intrusted to the troops stationed in the Daghestan, under the orders of Baron de Wrede.

Prince Madatoff, accompanied by several of the officers of the staff, went in the afternoon to visit Ashan Khan in his tent, which stood in the centre of the encampment. Here we found him engaged in such a violent dispute with his brother, that neither of them took the least notice of our approach, which had been announced to them by their nobles. Long before reaching the tent we had heard the loud and angry clamours of the brother of Ashan Khan, who sat opposite to that chief, and was in a frantic fit of rage, which is not at all uncommon among the choleric Asiatics. His eyes flashing fire, and foaming at the mouth, he tore open his tunic with tremulous hands; and presenting his naked bosom to his brother, whom he branded with a thousand opprobrious epithets, said that he had not the courage to plunge his dagger in his breast. Ashan Khan meantime listened to all his taunts without condescending to return an answer, every feature of his countenance expressing the utmost scorn.

The brother of Ashan Khan was reputed, and believed himself to be, the most valiant warrior of his country. He was indignant that the command of the cavalry should have been given to Ashan, when he considered himself as the only one worthy of the chief command. Unwilling to complain of this to Prince Madatoff himself, he commenced by challenging his brother, who with the utmost prudence had hitherto avoided a rupture, but finding that his outrageous conduct and abuse availed him not, frantic with despair, he asked for death at his hands. This he did with such an infuriated countenance, and violence of manner, that when we attempted to part him and his brother, it seemed as if we were struggling with an enraged lion. As it generally happens in similar cases, they both had partisans among their people; but as Prince Madatoff previous to our visit to Ashan Khan's tent had nominated his brother to the command of the vanguard, this wrathful Achilles no sooner learned this appointment than he declared himself satisfied.

Surrounded by a family wholly devoted to arms, Ashan Khan was every moment obliged to struggle against similar incidents.

In the evening, while we were still at dinner in the tent of General Madatoff, two little boys, armed from head to foot with weapons proportionate to their age, entered the tent. They were two of the sons of Ashan Khan, and his immediate heirs, who having learned our arrival at the encampment, which was at some distance from their place of residence, had induced their tutor to conduct them to head-quarters to crave Prince Madatoff's intercession with their father that he might allow them to take an active part in our operations. The eldest, who was about ten years of age, and whose mien was truly martial, having been deprived of the use of one leg by wounds received two years before while fighting beside his father, was unable to walk without crutches, and could not mount or alight from his horse without assistance. The other little doughty hero was scarcely seven years old; he offered an excellent representation of a Tartar punchinello, and stood in need of the same assistance as his brother. They both, however, advanced towards Prince Madatoff without either timidity or embarrassment, and declining to sit down, or take any thing, stated in few words the object of their visit.

Ashan Khan had but a few minutes before set off with the cavalry to bivouac a few wersts in advance of our camp. Prince Madatoff however, far from acceding to the request of these two singular veterans, endeavoured to dissuade them from it; but finding his arguments unavailing, he threatened them with their father's displeasure, and ordered the tutor and the remainder of their suite to conduct them back to their father's house. On hearing this command, they both burst into a fit of passion, stampt their little feet, and bit their lips with rage, tears starting from their eyes, which, as they withdrew to mount their horses, flashed angry glances on

the company, who had been highly amused with their solicitation. This martial zeal is the more singular in the immediate descendants of the Khans, as, in the event of losing the use of any of their limbs, they forfeit the right of inheritance to the Khana, as was the case with the eldest, who by his lameness saw his right pass to his next brother, a circumstance which on account of its injustice seems deserving of notice.

On the morning of the 5th, the great convoy from Kuba, which during the two previous days had overcome the principal obstacles on the road, being now within a short distance of our encampment, orders were issued for our departure. We commenced our march at three in the afternoon, descending the height we had occupied, and pursued our road occasionally through defiles, and an uneven country tolerably well cultivated and inhabited, till we reached an extensive valley ten wersts from the camp, where we bivouacked.

Although Prince Madatoff was well aware that the enemy, having retrograded to their frontiers, would not attempt to intercept our communications, especially in a country the inhabitants of which were so much attached to their Khan that every individual was a voluntary spy, he gave orders to the brother of Ashan Khan to send detachments to scour the country on both sides of our route. The discipline of our soldiers had a salutary influence on that of the Tartar legions, whose respect towards Ashan Khan was undiminished, either by the difference of their native provinces, or by the irreconcilable enmity of the two brothers.

On the following morning, the troops continued their march. Though the summer season was fast advancing the weather was pleasant and cool, a circumstance which was to be attributed to the elevation of the country, and to the proximity of the snowy summits of the Caucasus, which was to our left, and parallel with our line of road.

Kuragh, the usual residence of Ashan Khan, was twenty-five wersts distant from our place of bivouac, and had a Russian garrison destined to protect the city against the incursions of the enemy. The rugged nature of the road had, during the whole morning, so greatly impeded the progress of our *matériel*, that notwithstanding the assistance given by two of our battalions to take the field-pieces over the steep rocks which obstructed the road, it was evening when we reached Kuragh.

The cavalry of Ashan Khan established their bivouac a werst beyond the city, and the rest of our troops before its walls. Our head-quarters were fixed at the house of the Khan, from the gallery of which we had a view of the two encampments, and of a great part of the road on our rear, along which we could distinguish the head of the great convoy coming from Kuba, which notwithstanding the obstacles above mentioned was now approaching Kuragh.

Ashan Khan, foregoing the comforts which his house afforded, bivouacked with his troops; and sent frequent intelligence to the general respecting the movements of the enemy, the correctness of which, as his spies were unable to penetrate into the revolted province, could not be relied upon. This circumstance, joined to those I have already hinted at, seemed to establish the presumption, that our campaign would be no less arduous than protracted. It was also to be feared that our operations would be greatly embarrassed by our convoys. To obviate this difficulty, the general resolved to form his great depot at Chiragh, a fortress, which by its proximity to the enemy's country, was well adapted for this purpose. Wishing, therefore, to see the convoy safely deposited in that fortress, he issued orders for the different corps to remain in their present encampments till they should receive further instructions.

On the morning of the 7th the convoy, which owing to the indefatigable exertions of the troops that escorted it preserved an excellent order, having arrived at Kuragh, we proceeded with it towards Chiragh, which, though within forty-five wersts of the former city, we reached only on the 10th at noon. As we had all left our tents at Kuragh, and as beyond this place neither trees nor shrubs of any kind are to be met with, our bivouacs were rendered doubly unpleasant, the only fuel we had consisting of straw and a calcareous earth mixed together and formed into the shape of bricks, which required much trouble and attention to keep burning. If by chance any cart of the convoy became unfit for service, it was immediately cut to pieces and carefully preserved by the escort for their night fires.

The fortress of Chiragh, although very imperfectly constructed, was deemed of great importance in that country with reference to the enemies against whom it had to be defended. Its fortifications are extremely ancient, and it crowns the summit of a small mountain in the form of a sugar-loaf. The Russians repaired and furnished it with three pieces of ordnance, and a garrison of one hundred men under the orders of a captain. The village of Chiragh, which contains about a hundred and fifty inhabitants, stands at the foot of the fortress in the form of an amphitheatre.

Some months previous to our arrival here the Lesghis had succeeded in surprising in the village a Russian sergeant and two grenadiers, who having descended from the fortress to procure bread for the detachment, were attacked by a multitude of Lesghis, who, favoured by a thick fog, had penetrated into the village. Obliged by overpowering numbers to retreat, the three soldiers took refuge in the mosque, where they defended themselves with the utmost courage until the Lesghis, having forced their way into the interior, obliged those poor wretches to shut themselves up in the tower, which their enemies blew up, and rent asunder. The three veterans remained unhurt, and continued to defend themselves in the

standing section; but being totally exposed to the fire of their barbarous enemies, they soon fell lifeless to the ground. Their heads and limbs were then shared among their assassins, who in their fury smeared their hands and faces with the blood of the Russians, that their triumph might be more highly valued and rewarded by their Khan. The garrison of the fortress, who had been unable to give any assistance to their unfortunate companions, did not let any opportunity escape of avenging their deaths: on our arrival at Chirax, we found two standards taken from the Lesghis by the detachment, which a short time back had made a sortie against a thousand of those barbarians.

On the night of the 10th our vanguard bivouacked in the enemy's territory at three wersts distance from our encampment. The Tartar soldier always takes his repose dressed and ready armed, his hand grasping the bridle of his horse, who, like his master, spends whole months without being an instant unharnessed. The cavalry of Ashan Khan was on one side of our encampment and half of our artillery on the other, so that we were protected from sudden attack. In this state we remained the whole of the following day and night, without receiving the least intelligence respecting the true movements of the enemy, who had not shown himself on any of the points to which our advanced posts had reached.

The troops did not fail to profit by this interval to clean and prepare their arms; the formation of the depot which was to be established at Chiragh was soon completed, and placed under the custody of the two battalions of light infantry. Orders were then issued to the rest of the troops to hold themselves in readiness to march into the enemy's country on the following day.

The officer commanding the garrison of the fortress presented himself to the general in the evening to request permission to join one of the battalions, that he might take an active part in punishing the enemy for the horrible death of his fellow soldiers, a petition too honourable and praiseworthy not to be granted.

Our field of operations on the following day, June 12th, was to be before Joserek, which is twenty-six wersts from Chiragh, where according to all accounts the enemy was intrenched. As we had no chart of the country, and as neither Ashan Khan, his brother nor any of their zealous comrades, had ever penetrated as far as Joserek, notwithstanding its short distance from their territory, and their occasional incursions into the enemy's country, all we knew of that important position was from the incorrect and traditionary accounts of some of our Tartar allies. With respect to our staff, we ourselves being the first European officers who ever trod the country, we had absolutely no foundation whereon to ground our plans.

By day-break all our troops were ready to march, when Ashan Khan presented himself to Prince Madatoff to communicate to

him the intelligence he had just gained from two Lesghi prisoners taken during the night by one of his brother's advanced posts. According to these men's report, the whole of the enemy's cavalry, commanded by one of the sons of Surghai Khan, was at no great distance from our little army, while the Khan himself was at the head of the remainder of his forces amounting to 40,000 men. He occupied a line of redoubts spreading for a considerable extent before Joserek, the fortifications of which were to be defended by the *élite* of his infantry. The Khan, moreover, had resorted to every religious artifice and the most tyrannical measures to compel his people to make a desperate resistance.

Although there was a thick mist, which in this country is very common, we commenced our march at five o'clock, the cavalry at the head of our column, and the artillery in the centre. The road from Chiragh to Joserek lies between two ranges of hills. That on the left is a branch of the Caucasus, and, though as we advanced it became higher and higher, it is not so steep and difficult of ascent as that on the right, which extends from near Chiragh to Joserek, and on the summit of which is an esplanade, occasionally very narrow, terminating within a very short distance of the last-mentioned city. On these heights we saw at six o'clock A. M. as soon as the fog cleared, the first group of the enemy's cavalry, in the midst of which waved the standard.

Prince Madatoff, having advanced to reconnoitre the enemy's position, ordered our whole column to accelerate its march; and the brother of Ashan Khan to proceed through the first accessible path with the entire vanguard to dislodge the enemy from the heights on our left. This movement, which was performed with an incredible order and rapidity, though unsupported by a single bayonet, and highly perilous in such abrupt and broken ground, was well suited to the agility of the Tartar cavalry.

Yakouwovitch and myself, who were the only two cavalry officers near Prince Madatoff's person, took a part with Ashan Khan's brother in this movement. The enemy, who crowned the summit of the hills in very superior numbers to our own, received us on our approach with shouts and repeated discharges of musketry, which twice obliged us to fall back and rally. The individual scenes which the fury of these Tartar enemies presented occasionally engaged our attention, and these conflicts were the more frequent, as little or no unity of action could be expected in cavalry charges, which, being made in such a rugged place, could prove successful only by the personal courage of the combatants. Among innumerable other instances, I saw one of our party and a Lesghi fight even in their last agonies, and in their ferocious struggles tear each other with their teeth, and, tightly grasped together, roll down a rocky precipice; the horses, which their masters during the fight continued to hold by the bridle, being likewise dashed into the

abyss below. Another Lesghi, giving his horse to the care of a comrade, crawled down the steep sides of the rocks to cut off the head of his enemy, and present it to the chief by whom he had been armed.

At length, at the third charge, we broke through the enemy's lines; but the continual charges that followed as we pursued them to the foot of their intrenchments were the more bloody, as every inch of ground was defended with a desperate bravery, their unremitting fire causing us much loss. We had thus far executed the operation intrusted to us, and succeeded in engaging in action all the enemy's cavalry, putting them to flight, when the brother of Ashan Khan fell pierced through the heart by a musket ball, into the arms of some of the nobles who surrounded him, and who saw with anguish this brave man expire like a true Tartar warrior, urging them to avenge his death. The shot by which he fell, it is asserted by some of his followers, was aimed by the son of Surghai Khan, who had purposely lagged behind to be more sure of his prey. Be this as it may, the truth is that such a loss, which among European troops would have caused but little interruption, nearly paralyzed our movements, and checked our success at this critical moment. The Asiatic custom of wailing over and lavishing caresses on the corpse of the slain chieftain, gave the enemy time to rally, and furiously charge the cavalry of Karabah, which, to prevent them from assuming the offensive, performed prodigies of valour. While I rode at the head of these troops, I observed a Tartar decorated with the legion of honour, of whom more hereafter.

General Madatoff, who was watching our movements from the road that ran parallel with the field of our operations, soon perceived the sudden reverse occasioned by the death of the brother of Ashan Khan, and galloped to the spot; whence he sent orders to the third regiment of Absaron, commanded by Major Martiniengo to perform a flank movement on the right of the enemy's cavalry, while he rallied our almost disordered troops, who now, by a unanimous impulse again taking the offensive, charged the enemy. The latter being at this moment thrown into the utmost confusion by the explosion of several ammunition-cases which had been just sent them by Surghai Khan, Major Martiniengo, who with his infantry had by great exertions gained those steep heights, taking advantage of the accident, vigorously pursued the enemy, and made himself master of the first intrenchment, which supported the left of their line, where it was easy for him to check and punish the enemy should they attempt any attack on that side.

From these hills the whole line of redoubts and fortifications, as well as Surghai Khan's camp, were distinctly seen. His tent was adorned with several standards, and surrounded by those of his nobles, also covered with silks of various colours, beside which

stood a multitude of horses kept in readiness, and further on several groups of infantry, which appeared to constitute the enemy's reserve. These various objects, joined to the confused movements of their troops and occasional racing of a part of their cavalry, while they offered a highly animated scene, disclosed to us their resources and means of defence. In such a post, however, their cavalry could be but of little service.

The left wing of the enemy having been disabled by the movements above mentioned, and the locality of the position occupied by the centre rendering all offensive or defensive operations in that quarter of little avail, the next point of attack was Joserek, the ramparts and intrenchments of which served as a *point d'appui* to the enemy's right, and was in fact the basis of their whole line. If the right wing were once defeated, a flank movement might be easily executed, and the victory insured to us.

At about ten A. M. Prince Madatoff gave orders to Major Martiniengo to maintain at all hazards the advantageous position he had taken, and placed there 1800 horsemen to act as a rear guard to his troops. He also issued orders to Ashan Khan, who with the remainder of the cavalry was advancing by the principal road after defeating all the enemy's troops he had met in his way, to send without delay a few companies to enable some of our officers to reconnoitre the fortifications of Joserek. Meantime our platoons continued advancing, and having halted on a hill which commanded the fields of Joserek, the general observing that the enemy was vigorously pursued by the cavalry of Ashan Khan, and was precipitately retreating towards the ramparts, made his dispositions for general attack.

Our forces were divided into four columns, the first of which, composed of the grenadiers of Georgia under the command of Major Sisianoff with four field-pieces, was to support our left, and act as a reserve. The second and third columns, supported by six field-pieces, which were commanded by the captain of artillery Frigil, consisted, the one of the first battalion of Kourin under the orders of Lieutenant-colonel Kotzebue, and the other of half of the second battalion of Absaron, commanded by its lieutenant-colonel Saguinoff, were to advance through the principal road to the city, and form our centre. The fourth column, composed of the other half of the second battalion of Absaron, and supported by two field-pieces, was to open the attack on the redoubts which united the left of the fortifications with the heights. Prince Madatoff honoured me with the command of this column. Ashan Khan received orders to withdraw his advanced posts, and station himself before the cemetery opposite to Joserek.

At one P. M. we opened our attack upon the city; at two the firing was very brisk, and well sustained throughout the line. On the fourth column approaching the redoubts, which were within a

short distance of the steep mountain on the left, the enemy opened a cross fire on our flank, sheltered by a natural parapet of steep rocks, which prolonged themselves, and joined the elevated part of the fortifications. Behind these the enemy had studiously concealed a body of infantry, who hoisted their standards only when we came within their reach. Placed between two fires, and on a ground the unfavourable nature of which prevented our making any use of our two field pieces, against whose train the enemy chiefly directed their destructive fire, our only resource was an immediate assault, for which I made every disposition. But on the general-in-chief perceiving the imminent danger in which we stood, he sent to me Prince Beboutoff with orders to delay the assault until the battery of the centre, which was just beginning to play on the trenches that were in front of us, should render it more practicable.

This order, which a few minutes before would have been very seasonable, was at this critical moment extremely difficult to obey, as the column was within sixty paces of the parapet, completely exposed to the enemy's fire, and eager for the assault. The third column having fortunately executed a flank movement with a rapidity equal to the danger of our situation, and which rendered the success of my intended operation less doubtful, I gave the signal for the assault. My soldiers intrepidly rushing towards the redoubts, mounted them by means of corpses and knapsacks, and in less than ten minutes we rendered ourselves masters of the principal intrenchments of Joserek, from which we vigorously pursued the enemy, driving them from post to post, until seeing their communication with the heights cut off, their ranks began to give way, and they were soon put to flight. Shortly after reaching the mosque, which was the last place where the enemy attempted to make a desperate resistance, Lieutenant-colonel Saguinoff reinforced us with his column, and we immediately took possession of the building. Following up our success, the standard of Absaron soon waved on the last ramparts of Joserek, our military band hailing the signal of possession.

The path leading from the city to the camp of Surghai Khan lying between steep rocks, our soldiers proceeded unobserved, and rapidly crowning the heights fell on a great part of his forces, who far from attempting any resistance, abandoned every thing that might impede the most hasty flight. The other columns successively entered Joserek by different directions, easily overthrowing an enemy who, terrified at the success of our troops, were flying with the most precipitation.

Ashan Khan, at the head of his cavalry, adopting the most prudent line of policy, lightly punished those of the enemy who attempted to seek their safety through the plains, while Major Martiniengo, judiciously issuing from his position at the moment of our assault, charged the left of the enemy. Their cavalry immediately took to flight, and

joined their fugitive Khan, trampling down all who impeded their progress, and rendering more disastrous the defeat of their friends.

For the space of six wersts the ground was strewed with the corpses of doubtless the most vigorous and valiant men of the Khana, and with horses, arms, standards, and spoils of every description, which added to 1000 prisoners, to the complete possession of Joserek so important by its position and fortifications, and to the entire dispersion of Surghai Khan's army, rendered our victory truly memorable.

The loss we experienced was sufficiently serious, especially as among the dangerously wounded and the dead there were some officers of high merit, and some of our bravest soldiers.

Towards the close of the day, Prince Madatoff gave orders for the columns that were in pursuit of the enemy to return, and caused all our troops to assemble in the plains close to the walls of Joserek, where our bivouack was established. The two battalions of Absaron, who had so much distinguished themselves on that day and whose standards waved on the ramparts, were received by the general in the most flattering manner; the high but merited encomiums he bestowed on the soldiers being the more gratifying to us, as they were expressed in the presence of the assembled troops, and in sight of the place where our efforts had been crowned with success.

The care of the wounded engaged our attention the whole of that night, during which the wretched sufferers experienced much inconvenience from the unprovided state in which we found the houses of Joserek, stripped by the enemy even of the doors, which were used by them as means of defence. A wise policy made us respect the mosque, which was the only place that had not been despoiled by the enemy in that desolate city, from whose numerous caverns and subterraneous passages issued every moment people of all ages, who had sought refuge in those vaults, which with a less generous enemy would have become their sepulchres. The terrified inhabitants met from our patroles, to whom the mildest conduct had been enjoined by the chiefs, a reception very different from that which might have been expected from the excited feelings of the soldiery, or the empire of force.

The wounded enemies who had survived the unavoidable fury of such close encounters, were intrusted either to the care of their women or of their own pastors, under the immediate inspection of one of our surgeons. The prisoners were liberated at midnight at the intercession of Ashan Khan, to show them that our arms were not directed against the oppressed inhabitants, but only against their tyrannical prince.

Some detachments of cavalry were posted in the various avenues to Joserek, and every other precautionary measure for our safety being adopted, the general issued orders for a review on the following day.

Such were the operations of the memorable 12th of June, against an enemy consisting of perhaps the most warlike of the tribes of the Caucasus, but who were equally rash and ignorant. I shall here add a few observations respecting their arms and means of defence, which will in some measure account for the irregularities that took place during the battle.

The Lesghis, like the greatest part of the Tartars, although mountaineers, are the worst foot soldiers of the East. Passionately fond of the horse, which they consider in the light of a companion, with whom they must share the glory of their exploits, or the shame of their disasters, they pay no regard to the practical lessons they receive every time they measure their strength with European infantry. They even attribute the success of artillery to the horses that draw it. Skilful in the use of every kind of arms, and especially in the musket, which though of a smaller calibre than ours is considerably longer, and consequently reaches much further, they take the surest aim, while their fire, though always without unity, is so brisk and well sustained by the multitude who confusedly crowd the intrenchments, that it is perhaps almost as destructive as artillery. This is the reason of their disregarding the latter, though Surghai Khan had some ordnance in the interior of the country, which might have been used with advantage at Joserek, and of which more hereafter.

Once in close quarters with their enemy, they sling their long though light muskets on their backs with a certain martial elegance which they acquire from their earliest infancy, and grasping their long and broad dirks, with which they skilfully parry the cuts of the sabre or thrusts of the bayonet, they rush on their enemy to give or receive the mortal blow. This manner of defence is the more destructive, as besides its being desperately maintained by those who fill up the vacant places, the rest of their comrades who are not within reach of the soldiery, dart at them their envenomed steels with a surprising dexterity and good aim, though this means is resorted to only on the point of flight. It is impossible to conceive a more silent and deadly scene than that which offers itself on an assault against these men, who are as vigorous as they are undaunted, and who, if they were to act with uniformity, would render the capture of any intrenchment equally sanguinary and difficult even for the bravest European legion.

Their masses, always irregular, dread when they are unsheltered the effects of the artillery, but when protected by natural or artificial parapets, the cannon though well served does not impress them with much fear. On the contrary, immoveably fixed at their posts they resolutely wait for the assault, and fight to the last, their clamorous fanfaronades confounding themselves with the more harmonious sounds of the military bands of their adversaries.

A musket, a pistol, and a poniard of exquisite workmanship are

inlaid with silver or gold, a dress adorned with lace or embroidery, and a standard bearing an inscription drawn from the code of their prophet, and grasped with all the arrogance and haughtiness peculiar to the Asiatics, form the distinctive marks of most of their chiefs.

On the other hand, the Russian soldiers, unexcited by any spirituous liquors, with which the troops of other nations are often treated previous to engaging in battle, make the sign of the cross,* and immoveably fixing their eyes on their leader, follow him in the most profound silence, unanimous in their impetuosity, constant and imperturbable in danger,—qualities which in military nations are the exclusive patrimony of perfect discipline. Frugal and patient under privations as they are submissive, they spend the whole day in battle, and at night a ration of bread or biscuit and a draught of water from the nearest brook, suffice to allay their hunger and thirst; while the bare ground for a bed, and their knapsack for a pillow, relieve their fatigue.

The Tartar whom I had seen in the morning decorated with the cross of the legion of honour, and whom I had desired to seek me after the battle, presented himself to me at night, while the groans of the wounded and the *qui vive* of the sentries alone interrupted the silence of our bivouac. I asked him if he spoke French, to which he affirmatively answered me in that language. "Who gave you that decoration?"

"The Emperor, at Wagram," he replied; "and to-day I should have won another had he seen us."

He then drew from his bosom a parchment pocket-book that hung at his neck by a silk cord, and in which he had his diploma. This he put into my hands that I might examine it, and afterwards continued his narrative, which, though amusing, was greatly spoiled by his outrageous boasting. He spoke of Spain, of Madrid, of the *Plaza de la Cevada* (where criminals are executed), of his exploits, and lastly of his amorous adventures, especially with a woman, an orange vender, of the name of Colasa, whom he described in a manner that seemed to place the truth of his narrative beyond a doubt. This man belonged to the corps of Mamelukes who followed Napoleon from Egypt, and who were afterwards incorporated with the imperial guard. He had been present with his squadron in Madrid, and taken an active part in the sanguinary proceedings of the memorable 2d of May, 1808. I then questioned him in Spanish, and received very pertinent answers in that language, delivered with a vivacity and jocularity which made me overlook his ridiculous boasting. In fine, this singular personage was made a prisoner in Russia during Napoleon's retreat from Moscow, and restored to his native country, Karabah, where, whenever that pro-

* As a proof of the religious feeling of the Russian soldiers, I still preserve a cross which one of these brave fellows devoutly delivered to me a little before he expired in one of the ditches of the first intrenchment we attacked during the morning.

since assembled its contingent, he came forward either for himself or as a substitute for any who disliked the service.

Neither Prince Madatoff, though he was his countryman, nor Bebutoff, nor any of my other comrades, entertained any opinion of this man; on the contrary, they disapproved my being either generous to or communicative with him, on account of the excesses of cruelty he had been guilty of, and the want of discipline he had shown in other expeditions. But as during the time he was beside me in the morning I did not remark in him either any thing very good or very bad, I desired him to keep near me whenever his duties permitted. This request he carefully attended to, and I derived much advantage from his knowledge of the language and customs of the country, and from his explanations of the most remarkable and interesting events that followed the proceedings of this day.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Effects of the clemency of the Russians after their victory—Kazykoumyk shuts its gates against Surghai Khan—Surghai deposed—His people are willing to swear allegiance to the Emperor Alexander—Rich arms and costume of the venerable hostages—Ashan Khan elected prince of the conquered province of Kazykoumyk—The Russians march to that capital—Intricate roads—Description of the country—Deputation—Presents to Prince Madatoff—City of Kazykoumyk—Installation of Ashan Khan—Tartar mode of signature—Cruelty of Surghai Khan towards his subjects—Mustapha Khan flies from Shirvan to Persia—Prince Orbellianoff's journey to Teflis by a new route—General Madatoff after his victory evacuates the province, leaving it under the authority of Ashan—Services performed by this feudatory Khan in the late war with Persia.

To the warlike tumult of the preceding day succeeded the calm of peace and security; and the 13th dawned in all the splendour of a spring morning in those eastern regions. The kind treatment which the prisoners experienced from us not only allayed the alarms of the natives, but produced the most favourable impression.

Ashan Khan, who with the principal part of the cavalry had bivouacked before Joserek, received frequent intelligence of the occurrences which were taking place in the interior. From all accounts, Surghai Khan, who had hitherto endeavoured to impress on his people the belief that he was invincible, by causing his astrologers to spread about predictions favourable to his ends, was fast losing ground in the minds of all his subjects, who were now preparing to deprive him of his authority.

The fugitive Khan rode with all possible speed from the field of battle to Kazykoumyk, the capital of his Khana, sixty wersts distant from Joserek; but unfortunately for him, the news of his defeat

having preceded him, he found the gates of the city shut against him and the adherents by whom he was followed. In vain he declared his name and the motives of his sudden presence there; he was refused admittance in a tone and under such pretexts as too clearly presaged an approaching termination of his supreme power. Maddened at this refusal, he burst forth into threats, which were no longer attended to. At length a few elders, whose popularity he had often dreaded, appeared on the ramparts and advised him to pursue his flight, it being the firm determination of the people to treat him as an enemy, should he persist in demanding admittance into the city.

Surghai Khan, who had not sufficient courage to follow the fatal example set him by some of his relations, of perishing by his own hand rather than survive such an affront, was dismayed at the intimation he received, and proposed a thousand humiliating conditions, which were all disdainfully rejected; at length he received as a favour his women, and an escort that should afford him protection as far as the frontiers. Thus bereft of his power, the defeated Khan now directed his flight towards the mountains, followed by his concubines and some scores of children who composed the flock of his harem, leaving in the memory of his countrymen only the most atrocious mutilations executed on the persons of his most faithful adherents, (as we had frequent opportunities of observing in the wounded and prisoners we had taken,) and a country smarting under the inflictions of his rapacious and barbarous tyranny.

The inhabitants of this province, unlike the Kabardines and Tcherkesses, are not a freebooting race. They love war, like all the inhabitants of the Caucasus; but they also know how to value the benefits of peace, especially when a prudent prince, turning his attention to commerce, renders manifest to them its advantages, by allowing the merchants, who from Daghestan and Astrakhan trade with the tribes of the interior, a safe passage through his territory, without laying too great a duty on their merchandise. The ambition and intrigues of Surghai Khan, therefore, though they had compelled them to commence hostilities, were far from being approved by the majority of the people. Hence on the day after the battle of Joserek, the public voice, hitherto repressed by his violent measures, loudly pronounced itself in favour of his overthrow. Besides, as any further resistance would probably have led to the entire ruin of their caravanserais, homes, and families, they prudently yielded to circumstances, and weighing how far they were entitled to the generosity of the conquerors, established a provincial government, the direction of which, (in conformity with the ancient usages of these tribes) they intrusted to some of their most respected old men, who immediately sent three of their members to Ashan Khan, imploring his mediation to conclude a peace, and offering their allegiance to the Russian government.

While these important events were passing in the capital, Prince Madatoff reviewed our troops, and continued to take those precautionary measures which our uncertain situation still required. Our infantry had experienced a loss of nine officers and three hundred privates, between killed and dangerously wounded; and the loss of the cavalry amounted to double that number. Orders were issued for the immediate removal of the wounded (who had but very indifferent quarters and scarcely any accommodation at Joserek) to the military hospital of Kuragh; while the corpses that were strewed about the field, the trenches, and the streets of Joserek, were buried, each according to the rites of his religion. The body of the brother of Ashan Khan was removed with some pomp to the capital of the province where he had chiefly resided.

At three in the afternoon the emissaries sent from the capital by their colleagues to Ashan Khan arrived at our encampment, and were immediately conducted by that prince to the general's tent, where, on the preliminaries of their treaty being settled, they spontaneously offered themselves as hostages to secure the performance of the contract. The general acceded to it; and Ashan Khan, giving another proof of the wisdom and good policy he had shown throughout this expedition, placed himself at the head of the embassy, and made common cause with them; thus setting an example of reconciliation between his old and future subjects, which could not fail to produce the most beneficial results.

The emissaries, who were all men of an advanced age, circumspect in their manners, and martial in their mien, were dressed in rich attire, and had about their persons arms of the most exquisite workmanship, in which the Tartars in general seem to place all their vanity. The fire-arms of the whole party were not only loaded but primed, a circumstance which among Europeans might have led to some sinister interpretation of the real intentions of the emissaries, and cost them their heads; but which among these people, far from concealing any perfidious design, is considered as a mark of that respect which they are bound to observe on these occasions.

According to some of the articles of the treaty, the oath of allegiance to the Emperor Alexander, the proclamation and investiture of Ashan Khan, and other subsequent acts, were to take place in the capital. The approaching solemnity was the more flattering and satisfactory to that prince, as, besides his being elected by the people themselves, he was confident that a short time would be sufficient to efface from their memories the momentary humiliation they had experienced, and render their province one of the most flourishing of the Caucasus, its large population, advantageous situation for the interior commerce, and wealth, especially in flocks and cattle, encouraging these high but well-grounded hopes.

On the evening of the 13th the general-in-chief gave orders for

the troops to hold themselves in readiness to proceed at day-break towards the capital, with the exception of a part of the cavalry, who were to remain at Joserek to protect that point.

The thick fog so prevalent in these mountainous districts, prevented our marching out as early as we had intended. Five wersts beyond Joserek we passed through a small but neatly built village, whose inhabitants were seen standing on the flat roofs of their houses, looking tranquilly on, and apparently much struck with the novelty of our artillery, the carriages of which were really the first vehicles that had been seen in that country for many ages back. The obstacles we met in transporting our train of artillery, as we penetrated further into the interior, were so numerous, both on account of the abrupt nature of the country, narrow and broken paths, and of the wide trenches which Surghai Khan had caused to be made in order to prevent our progress into the country, that we were obliged to unharness and dismount the pieces and the ammunition-cases, and intrust them to the care of 100 infantry, who with the greatest labour and exertion carried them as far as a valley three wersts beyond the above-mentioned village, where the general, weighing the inconveniences they might occasion, gave orders for the third battalion of Absaron to remain behind with eight of the field-pieces out of the twelve that composed our park of artillery, until further commands. After this arrangement, we proceeded with only four pieces of artillery, and bivouacked, fifteen wersts from Joserek, on the path leading to the capital.

The Lesghi emissaries, who accompanied us in our march, seeing the little progress we made in our journey, sent their dependants and servants to the villages near the road with orders for all the inhabitants to work during the night in filling up the ditches on the road, and to give their assistance to our soldiers on the following day in transporting the artillery. Indeed, we found these men unremitting in their exertions to serve us, and procure from the natives every thing we stood in need of, from the moment of our departure from Joserek till our arrival at the capital.

Fifteen wersts before reaching Kazykoumyk we met an ancient stone bridge of a single arch, extremely lofty, which had no balustrade, and was so very narrow that it just fitted the wheels of our field-pieces. This was for us an additional proof that we were the first who from time immemorial had penetrated into this country with carriages of any kind, that bridge being the only means of communication between the frontiers and the interior. In proportion as we advanced we became more convinced how arduous, protracted, and painful, the possession of this abrupt country would have been for us, had the chief of the insurrection enjoyed the love of his people and made the least resistance.

When we came within ten wersts of the capital, we were met by a deputation sent from the city to welcome the general. The aspect

of the country in the neighbourhood of Kasykoumyk is barren and uninteresting, thinly populated, and with scarcely any trees, the cultivation of which is entirely neglected by the natives through some prejudice or caprice which I have not been able to ascertain; so that though we were in the pleasantest season of the year, and within a short distance of the Daghestan, the territory of which is one prolonged garden, we had neither fruits nor flowers, nor singing birds, nor cool and pleasant shades that might afford some relief to the weary traveller, who is here exposed to the rays of a scorching sun. Numerous herds of cattle, and a great abundance of barley and rye, constitute the principal wealth of those fields and valleys.

On our drawing near the city gates, another deputation came out to receive us with standards and poles decorated with branches and devices, and presented to the general the keys of the city, borne on a rich salver, containing some boiled rice in the form of a pilaw, of which, according to the established customs of these nations, he was to taste, and at the same time accept a beautiful horse superbly caparisoned, a gun, a pistol, a sabre, a poniard, and a rich suit of armour, which they offered as tokens of peace and perpetual alliance.

Prince Madatoff, to whom these honourable gifts were the more flattering as he received them at the hands of those whom he might consider as his countrymen, delivered an harangue in their own language with all the pomp of expression and vehemence of action peculiar to the Asiatics, in which he made known to them the conciliatory views of Alexander, in the name of whom his troops had advanced as far as their capital with no other intention than to add to the solemnity of the installation of the new prince whom *Providence* had sent them.

The huzzas and boisterous joy that burst from the large concourse of people who had followed in the rear of the deputation on the general ending his animated harangue, demonstrated in the most unequivocal manner that the proposed change was highly popular, and likely to produce lasting advantages to both parties. The enthusiasm manifested by all precluded the possibility of their ever returning under the oppressive yoke of Surghai Khan, of whose atrocious acts we had before us melancholy evidences in the disfigured countenances and mutilated limbs of those by whom we were surrounded, and on whom the tyrant himself had practised his barbarities.

On our arrival at the palace, which was neither elegant nor sumptuous, we ascended a wide staircase, adorned like the galleries and saloons with rich tapestry and gold tissues; and having accompanied Ashan Khan to the hall of audience, the general and the rest of the officers withdrew, leaving the prince in the midst of a circle formed by his new courtiers and nobles, with whom he was to concert the first measures required for taking into his hands the admi-

nistration of public affairs. The general then gave orders for having his tent pitched outside the city walls, and establishing a bivouac, strictly forbidding the military from entering the town.

Lieutenant-colonel Saguinoff and myself having been invited by Ashan Khan to take our collation with him, we re-entered the city in the evening, when we found it illuminated, and the people thronging the avenues to the palace. In some of the towers that flanked this building, there were several pieces of ordnance, which had been carried there from the frontiers on the shoulders of men by order of Surghai Khan, for the double object of intimidating his tyrannized people, and using them in his intended defence of the city. These pieces of ordnance, which as I have already observed had been left on the frontiers of that province by the Persians in one of their incursions, though they were placed on wooden forms instead of gun-carriages, might have been used to some advantage in defending the capital.

In the course of the evening Ashan Khan informed us, that during his conference with the elders he had ascertained that their sentiments and those of the people at large, were highly favourable to the object of our expedition; that is, to his being invested with the supreme authority of the province; and that he had also learned every thing connected with the present state of the country, the wants and wishes of the people, their means and resources, military, agricultural, and commercial; in a word, all that which a prince, who wishes to identify himself with his people and is anxious only for their prosperity, ought to know.

Our troops were the first foreign forces who, from the remotest period, had penetrated into the interior of this province. The Persians themselves, even at the time when they were most successful in the extension of their dominion, had not dared to invade this fierce and warlike nation, whose love of independence forms their strongest characteristic. The presence of the Russian troops, therefore, was a motive of uneasiness to the elders, who from the first moment of their interview with Ashan Khan made to him a candid avowal of it. Their apprehensions, however, had been greatly allayed by the conciliatory words which Prince Madatoff had addressed to them at the city gates, and which passed from mouth to mouth till they spread with the rapidity of a telegraphic despatch to the remotest corner of the province; so that twenty-four hours after they were known even to the shepherds of the mountains, and crowds of people were hourly arriving at the capital to witness the installation of their new Khan, and participate in the general rejoicings.

Meanwhile Surghai Khan, having lost all his partisans, and meeting every where with humiliating refusals from those whom he had so cruelly exasperated, and to whom he now appealed, sought a refuge in a small province (the only one in the Caucasus to which the Russian arms had not reached) situated between that of Kazykou-

myk and that of the Tchetchenkis, where, according to the accounts received by Ashan Khan, he would not remain long, his intention being to pursue his flight either to Persia or to Turkey.

During the whole of the 16th the rain fell in torrents, and rendered our bivouac (in which the only tent to be seen was that of the General) extremely uncomfortable. But on the morning of the 17th, which was the day appointed for the installation of Ashan Khan, the weather cleared up, and our troops were able to appear in all the splendour which the importance of that solemn act seemed to require.

At eleven o'clock the doors of the great mosque, which communicated with that of the ramparts in front of our camp, were opened, and Ashan Khan entered surrounded by a numerous *cortège*, who with all possible pomp had accompanied him from the palace. In the middle of the nave, upon a drum, and under the unfurled banners of the second battalion of Absaron, was placed the Koran, on which the principal inhabitants of the capital and towns of the province, who had been invited to attend the act of installation, took their oath, by placing the right hand on the book, and signing according to their custom.*

A company of soldiers, and the military band of Absaron, stationed at the door of the mosque, was the only force employed on the occasion, and this with the intention only of doing honour to the banners under the auspices of which the solemnity was performed. The rest of the troops were formed at some distance from the ramparts, and remained so during the time that this long ceremony lasted; after which Ashan Khan presented himself on the city wall, attired in the purple robes used by the princes on such occasions, and was proclaimed Khan of Kazykoumyk, amidst the acclamations of the people and the repeated salutes of our artillery.

Prince Madatoff, who did not think it expedient to attend in person at the act of installation, remained with us at the entrance of his tent, where he afterwards received Ashan Khan, and the nobles by whom he was surrounded, who eagerly pressed round them. The Tartar prince delivered a short speech relative to the high trust with which he had just been honoured, and then entered into a laconic but lucid statement of the posture of public affairs, and of the measures which ought to be adopted for the consolidation of the prosperity of the people, to which he declared he would give his undivided attention, concluding with an earnest wish, that once the stipulations for the contingent and moderate tributes of the province to the empire being settled, the military authority, relying on the good faith and loyalty of the people, would immediately evacuate

* The Tartars do not use any characters in their signatures, but merely dip the end of their fore-finger in the ink and stamp it in the document. This blot, made on the paper or parchment which is spread on the Koran, is considered by them as the most sacred and binding pledge they could give.

the province, that the apprehensions which their presence might excite in the minds of those who were unacquainted with their true intentions might be removed.

These observations, made with the earnestness peculiar to Ashan Khan, in the presence of an audience chiefly composed of the wealthiest inhabitants of Kazykoumyk, together with the satisfaction felt by them at seeing the extraordinary reduction which was to take place in the taxation of the province when compared with the enormous sums extorted by their late Khan, seemed to insure him a lasting conquest over the minds of his new subjects. General Madatoff, however, too well aware of the importance of the step urged by Ashan Khan, made some observations respecting the unsettled state of a country in which the fire kindled by the late Khan could scarcely be extinguished, and for the complete pacification of which he was responsible to General Yermolow; concluding by declaring that the departure of the Russian troops from its territory would take place as soon as the people should give those guarantees by which the Emperor might feel satisfied of their sincerity and tranquillity.

Ashan Khan then placing one hand on the Russian order he wore on the breast, and with the other grasping that of Prince Madatoff, said with much vehemence, that he offered his own head to General Yermolow as a guarantee for the stipulated conditions; that he was convinced the people of Kazykoumyk would show how highly they valued the confidence which they demanded, as the evacuation of the province by the Russian troops could not fail to obliterate the remembrance of the hostilities in which they had been compelled to engage by a prince whom they themselves had spontaneously deposed; and that they would consider a want of confidence in the Emperor in their good faith as a punishment far surpassing that which they had received on the field of Joserek.

The general, who, like the rest of the officers that were present at this interview, could not help remarking the perhaps studied earnestness of Ashan Khan on a measure involving the most serious consequences, promised to take the matter into immediate consideration, and put an end to the conference by assuring them that what he had most at heart was their happiness and prosperity, leaving in fact the final settlement of this important point to a private conference with Ashan Khan. This took place in the evening of the same day with the utmost secrecy, when the Khan explained every thing in such a satisfactory manner, that it left no doubt in our minds of the sincerity which actuated him throughout. During this interview he also informed the general that he had taken effective steps to secure the flight of several Russian soldiers, who had been made prisoners on former occasions, and who were kept concealed by some of the proprietors of the country in the remote villages of the mountains.

One of our officers, who on this occasion manifested his surprise to Ashan Khan at seeing him so anxious to be left at the entire f a ople who only a few days back had risen in mass to trance into their territory, and against whom he and d been constantly fighting, received from him this re- rer: "When a prince wishes to preserve his head, he bare bosom; and," added he, with a gesture confir- opinion, "should he find himself mistaken, he has always this resource left him," grasping his poniard, "to bury his steel in the heart of the traitor."

On the following morning Prince Madatoff returned Ashan Khan's visit, and declared before the Tartar authorities by whom he was surrounded, and whose reserved manners betrayed a certain degree of suspicion, that he would issue orders to his troops for evacuating the province as soon as he should receive the oaths of allegiance from the inhabitants of the districts that had not yet tendered them, and that being perfectly satisfied with the loyal intentions of their new Khan, he would exact from them no further guarantee. This declaration was received with every mark of satisfaction by the Tartar chiefs, whose apprehensions seemed now entirely to subside.

On the morning of the 18th, the fourteen or fifteen pieces of ordnance we had found in the towers of the palace were delivered to the commandant of our artillery; and on the afternoon of the same day, the unhappy captives mentioned by Ashan Khan began to make their appearance in a condition that sufficiently indicated their hasty flight. These poor fellows, who had scarcely any covering, and whose haggard and disfigured countenances gave evident proofs of the barbarous treatment they had experienced during their long and painful captivity, were received with open arms by their veteran comrades, who, with the liberality of true soldiers, shared with them the little they had in their power to bestow. Among these unfortunate men there was one who had been a prisoner for more than eighteen years, and who, having never been permitted to mix with any of his fellow captives, had almost forgotten his native language. This poor wretch had been employed as a mason in some of the works projected by Surghai Khan, and had his countenance and body covered with wounds and scars, which had been wantonly inflicted by his late master, who was a favourite of the Khan. While in the service of this man, he had frequent opportunities of learning the plans of revolt in which Surghai Khan was engaged, and in which it appeared Mustapha Khan of Shirvan was deeply involved. The little reserve used in their communications enabled this captive to give Prince Madatoff a tolerable insight into the whole business, which was further confirmed by the conduct adopted by Mustapha Khan, who on being called by General Yermolow to Teflis to answer the accusations made against him, suddenly disappeared from Fitzar, carrying with him his women and his treasures into Persia. The

abandoning his province to the Russians, who since that time govern it to the entire satisfaction of the people.

Prince Madatoff, desirous of establishing a direct communication between Kazykoumyk and Teflis, gave orders to Prince Demetrius Orbellanoff to set off with his suite of Georgians for the capital, through a road which had hitherto been considered impracticable, and which lay over the mountains, and through the other province of Lesghi Tartars who inhabited the opposite side of the Caucasus stretching to the banks of the Alazann, where my regiment was stationed. Ashan Khan believing they might incur some danger in their passage through a country over the interior government of which the Russians had not yet much control, recommended their adopting the Tartar dress, that they might not attract attention, and the taking with them an escort of Tartar horsemen. This being settled, Orbellanoff took his departure, accompanied by forty cavaliers of Nougha, and with incredible expedition arrived at Teflis on the third day after he separated from us, and laid before General Yermolow (who now for the first time learned the complete and rapid success of our expedition) some of the trophies that had been taken from Surghai Khan at the victory of Joserek.

Prince Madatoff, seeing that the object of his mission was accomplished in full, gave his final orders for the march of the troops, and we left our camp on the evening of the 19th, accompanied by Ashan Khan and his retinue, who proceeded with us four wersts beyond the city, where we established our bivouac for the night. In the course of the evening, the general received in his tent the deputies of the towns and villages that were within a short distance of our line of march, and who had not yet taken their oath of allegiance to the Emperor of Russia.

On the following day we reached Joserek, where we found the artillery and the rest of the troops assembled to evacuate the province. This took place on the 21st at ten A. M. when Prince Madatoff dismissed the various Tartar contingents who had accompanied us in this expedition, and who were to proceed to their different provinces by short journeys.

Ashan Khan, who returned to the capital of his new principality on the evening of our departure, sent to our general the most satisfactory intelligence respecting the pacification of every part of the province, in which he assured him there existed no longer any necessity for his lingering in the neighbouring Khanas with his troops; for he had so far acquired the confidence of the chiefs and nobles by whom he was surrounded, as to be able to dispense with further assistance from an armed force to consolidate the work which had been so successfully begun.*

* According to the latest accounts received from Georgia, Ashan Khan, always faithful to the cause of the Russians, has rendered important services to the empire, especially in the late war with the Persians, when, by one of the bulletins of the army of

Thus ended in fifteen days a campaign which we had every reason to fear would have cost the army of Georgia their bravest battalions, and many months of toil and struggles, against a people whose reputation for courage and determination renders them as formidable as the most warlike tribe of the Caucasus, and whose territory was so well adapted, by its difficult defiles, fastnesses, and fortifications, to the partisan warfare so destructive to a regular army, and so generally adopted by mountain tribes.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Madatoff is revisited on his route by the sons of Ashan—Anecdote—Forests near Kuragh—Cherry-trees—At Kuba the Baron de Wrede delivers to the author a packet from his father and friends announcing the political change in Spain—Magnificent prospect from the mountain of Tchast—Brilliant carpets—Important remains of antiquity—The author's loss of his horse—A soothsayer—Lovely district of Nougha—Village of Vendame—Visit to a wealthy Tartar—The author reaches Nougha—His arrival at Teflis—General Yermolow's reception of the officers and troops upon their return—Don Juan Van Halen intimates to Yermolow a desire to return to Spain—General Betancourt's journey to the Caucasus and the Crimea—City of Kislar—Archeif, an Armenian proprietor of vineyards—Cultivation of cotton—Betancourt's advice—The author travels with him—Their travelling culinary apparatus—The steppes—Tcherlanaïa—Description of the Kalmucks—Mozdok—The Terak—Subterraneous road in the Caucasus to avoid the avalanches—Return to Teflis—Delightful scenery of Georgia—Rewards bestowed on the army of the Caucasus—Enmity of Alexander against the Spanish constitution—He dismisses the author from his service and banishes him—Reflections—Delicacy and generosity of Yermolow—The author's parting from General Betancourt.

On the morning of the 22d, while we were breakfasting in the gallery of a house at Kuragh, where we made a short stay with the object of visiting our wounded, the two sons of Ashan Khan, of whom I have already spoken, and who were on their way to Kazykoumyk to join their father, presented themselves with their retinue to Prince Madatoff, who invited them to sit down, and to partake of our repast. After a short dialogue between the general and the little princes, which was kept up with great animation on their part, the youngest having heard from Madatoff that the reign of Surghai Khan had now expired, said, smiling ironically, and with a shrug of the shoulders, "Poor man! it is very unfortunate for him—but it will be all the better for *me*."

The general, who observed a momentary frown pass across the countenance of the eldest, checked, though mildly, that expression

Georgia, inserted in the European Journals, it would appear that he had taken an active and honourable part with his light cavalry, and captured a son of Surghai Khan, whom the Persians had sent to Kazykoumyk to create a rebellion among the people, and whom Ashan Khan caused to be conducted to the presence of General Yermolow.

of precocious ambition in the youngest, which if not corrected in time might produce much mischief between the two brothers, when they should arrive at an age in which the passions get the mastery of reason and discretion; though there was in the manners and words of the eldest that which seemed to predict he would know how to imitate the forbearance and prudence of his father.

We left Kuragh in the afternoon of the 23d by the same road we came, along the magnificent forests, pleasant valleys, or rather gardens, which at every step meet the eye, forming a striking contrast with the barren and rocky soil of the province of Kazykoumyk; and at night reached Ziakour, where the park of artillery was established.

Early on the following day we continued our march, and halted at the invitation of a wealthy Tartar under the shade of some luxuriant cherry-trees, where we were served with a rural breakfast after the Tartar fashion, when we proceeded in our journey, and arrived at Kuba at about ten A. M.

General de Wrede, at whose house Prince Madatoff, Kotzebue, and myself alighted, had hardly welcomed us, when he ordered a packet of letters, which had arrived from Teflis a few days before, to be brought in from the post-office. Nothing can equal the agreeable surprise I received at reading the important communications contained in the letters delivered to me by Baron de Wrede; but that the reader may be better able to form some idea of the joy I experienced at every line, I must refer him to the letters themselves;* for I feel that words are inadequate to express the happiness they imparted.

On the 25th we took our leave of our worthy host, after having partaken of an excellent repast, and spent the night at a hamlet ten wersts beyond Kuba, on the direct road to Teflis, which had been projected by General Yermolow, with the view of opening a communication between the capital and the Daghestan through the provinces of Nougha and Kahetia. Our manner of travelling now was in nowise different from that we adopted in our first passage through the Tartar provinces. Ysa Beck, memaundhar of Kuba, was again our guide till we reached the frontiers of the province.

On the 26th we left our night quarters with the rising sun, the weather throughout the day being extremely mild, and the sky equally bright and serene. At a short distance beyond the village is a steep mountain, in the ascent of which we spent five long hours. It is called Tchast, and is one of the most elevated accessible points of the chain of the Caucasus. A shepherd whom we met near the summit of this mountain killed one of his sheep, and in a few minutes prepared for us a breakfast, which, in our anxiety to admire the magnificent and sublime scenery which on every side burst upon

* See note K.

our sight, we scarcely tasted. The pencil of Salvator Rosa and that of Claude united would, I am sure, have been inadequate to present in all their beauty the grandeur on one side and the loveliness on the other of the surrounding scenery.

The use of carpets is so general in the provinces, that even the reduced hut of the shepherd, who had displayed so much hospitality towards us, was adorned with some very beautiful specimens of this kind of furniture. Among these I saw one which by its fine texture, brilliancy of colours, and convenient size, I was desirous of purchasing, and which the shepherd sold to me for four ducats. This carpet, which for the space of six years I have constantly used, preserved to the end of that time, when I made a present of it to a friend of mine, all the vividness of colour which it at first possessed.

On descending the Tchast, the country presented at every step prospects so diversified and full of beauty, that I doubt whether the most picturesque parts of Italy or Spain could compete with these charming districts. The appearance of the woods, valleys, and hillocks, down which rushed a multitude of crystal streams, on the borders of which the happy and peaceable inhabitants were seen tending their flocks, and whose habitations, scattered every where, reminded me, by their constructions, neatness, and interior cleanliness and whiteness, of those of our cheerful Valencians, shifted at every moment, and bore a great resemblance to the southern parts of Spain.

We were the second party of Europeans who had passed through these districts since they became tributary to Russia; but the still perfect tombs and legible inscriptions, the remains of porticoes and colonnades, the ruins of large buildings, fortresses and towers, which we met with on or near the road, too clearly demonstrated the importance of this country in ancient times.

The journey of this day was the longest we had hitherto performed, the general having resolved to reach in the course of the day the frontiers of Nougha, which were 100 wersts distant from the village where we had spent the night, and at which we arrived late in the evening. Being unprovided with tents, we were obliged to accept the invitation of some shepherds to pass the night in their kivitki, which, however, afforded scarcely any accommodation for our party, and no shelter to our fatigued horses. This circumstance, joined to the unfavourable situation where those tents were pitched, (in the middle of a narrow dale surrounded by lofty hills,) and to the heavy showers of rain that fell during the night, rendered our bivouac by no means enviable, and caused much injury to our horses, especially to mine, that died on the spot. This valuable animal, which was of the race of Karabah, and had all the spirit and good qualities of the Arabian, had gone through the fatigues and privations of our expedition with unabated vigour. I therefore felt his loss very keenly.

In the course of the night I paid a visit to Prince Madatoff in his kivitka, and found him reclining against a cushion, deeply engaged in conversation with an old man, who passed among his comrades for a soothsayer, and whose singular dress and wild look might have qualified him for the spirit of evil. Indeed the darkness of the place, which was involved in smoke, and lighted only by a piece of resinous wood that cast a red glare on the strange countenance of the old Tartar conjuror, was highly calculated to strengthen one in this impression.

Early on the following day we pursued our journey through picturesque defiles and smiling valleys, which form the principal features of this part of Nougha. Vendame was the first village we met with on leaving behind a magnificent forest; and further on, the country as far as the city of Nougha may be said to be a prolonged garden, nature and art having combined to render it an almost earthly paradise.

The horse I now rode being unable to keep up with those of our party, who travelled at a very brisk pace, I soon lost sight of them, and a few wersts beyond Vendame missed the imperfectly beaten track, and became entangled in a maze of rocky defiles and broken and abrupt soil, where my horse came down upon his knees, and threw me down a steep bank. Having recovered from the stunning blow I received in the fall, I proceeded on foot, accompanied by only a Cossack who had remained with me as my escort, and arrived in bad condition at the dwelling of a wealthy Tartar, who was just then surrounded by more than a hundred labourers. They were celebrating the gathering in of his harvest at the sound of a bag-pipe similar to that used in Scotland and in the northern parts of Spain. On my approaching the house, the host came forward to receive me, and led me to an orchard the trees of which loaded with fruit, overshadowed the entrance and windows of his neat habitation, after which he called out his wife and family, who furnished me with every thing I stood in need of to wash the scratches and slight contusions I had received in the fall.

Meantime the master of the house caused the horses to be taken to the stables to be properly attended to; and my Cossack was conducted to the place where the repast for the numerous reapers was prepared. After enjoying some repose, and the kind attentions of the host and family during as much time as I could well spare, I expressed to them my wish to proceed to join my party, and by dint of repeating Nougha, succeeded in making them understand the direction which I wished to pursue, when my obsequious host, being unable to prevail upon me to make a longer stay among them, presented to me one of his sons, who was to act as my guide a part of the way, and I took leave of this hospitable family, who, like the rest of their countrymen, consider the exercise of hospitality as one of their most sacred duties.

Towards the close of the day I arrived at Pombé, a small village thirty-eight wersts distant from Vendame, where I spent the night, and on the following day reached Nougha, having suffered more from the excessive heat of the weather than I had hitherto experienced in this country from that cause. The news of our victory having already been announced by General Yermolow in a proclamation, in which the gallantry of our soldiers, who never expect to receive praise at the hands of their chief unless they render themselves worthy of it, was justly extolled, the commandant of Nougha was officially informed of our proceedings, which he had also had an opportunity of learning verbally from my comrades, whom I now joined.

Prince Madatoff, who likewise received here in an official manner the thanks of the general-in-chief for the manner in which he had conducted the expedition, broke up the head-quarters, which were no longer necessary, and accompanied by Beboutoff and Yakouwovitch took his departure, each to repair to his respective destination; whilst Kotzebue, Ysakoff, and myself, proceeded by the direct road through Elizabethpol to Teflis, where we arrived on the evening of the 6th of July, without meeting with any accident worth mentioning.

The house of my excellent comrade and friend, Baron Rengkamph, again became my place of abode during my stay at Teflis, which he rightly supposed would not be very long, the liberating cry of the army of the Isla, and the generous acts which had ennobled the first steps of Spanish regeneration, having now reached even further than the Caucasus, and removed the obstacles which had hitherto prevented my return to the country of my birth.

The general-in-chief, to whom we presented ourselves the day after our arrival, received us in the most flattering manner, and pointing with evident satisfaction to the standards taken at Joserek, which adorned the angles of his saloon, passed a eulogy on the officers of Prince Madatoff's staff in particular, and on the expeditionary army in general. After hearing from us those details of which he was not yet in possession, he gave us, with his characteristic frankness, a general invitation to his house, library, and table, an attention which he showed to all who served with zeal under his orders.

Some days after my arrival at Teflis, I openly declared to him the powerful motives that induced me to wish the return to my native country, which had now thrown open her gates to all her exiled children, and consequently my desire to quit the Russian service. Yermolow, who listened to me with deep attention, readily entered into my feelings, but advised me to restrain my impatience for a while, until the time prescribed by the military regulations should arrive, and that meantime he would communicate with the Emperor unreservedly on the subject.

A day or two after the above intimation I received a letter from my friend Major Manitcharoff, an aid-de-camp of General Betancourt, in which he informed me that my kind patron intended to visit some parts of the Caucasus, and being desirous of bidding him a last farewell, I asked and obtained permission of the general-in-chief to proceed to Kislar, where I hoped to meet Betancourt, and for which place I immediately set off, reaching it on the 2d of September, in the company of Colonel Jocius, an officer belonging to the corps of that general, and who was employed in Georgia.

The promptness and precision observed throughout the empire in executing the post regulations, and the orders which preceded the posting of General Betancourt, through the various towns in his passage, where the number of horses for his relays were to be in readiness for the hour of his arrival, made us acquainted with the precise day and hour when we might expect to see him, which was to be on the 6th, and gave us a tolerable idea of the rapidity of his journey.

At Kislar we took up our quarters at the house of one of the wealthiest Armenians of the country. This city, which is on the road from Daghestan to Astrakhan, will greatly increase in importance when the communication between Teflis and Kuba, projected and already begun by General Yermolow, is entirely established, though the completion of this work presents such obstacles as will with difficulty be overcome, even by the industry and spirit of enterprise of the Armenians, who are much interested in it, and willing to contribute with their loans towards defraying the expenses.

One of the principal sources of wealth to Kislar is its vineyards, which produce an excellent wine, from which a great deal of the brandy that is consumed in the interior of Russia, and in the neighbouring provinces of the Caucasus, is made. Our Armenian host, Archeif, who was one of the largest proprietors of vineyards in the vicinity of Kislar, took us to his country house, where we found a numerous party of vintagers actively employed in the pleasant occupation of gathering in the vintage. The comforts which the house afforded, the excellence of the wine abounding in his extensive cellars, the rich fruits that were served to us at the cheerful banquet he gave, and the happy faces of the vintagers, strongly reminded me of the delightful country parties that are formed at this season in Spain, though I own one of the chief attractions was wanting to render them equal to the latter, namely, the presence of the ladies.

Another lucrative branch of the commerce of Kislar is cotton, which is much cultivated in the province; nor is the silk-worm neglected. There is also a great abundance of game and fish in this province, while the cheapness of every kind of provision enables the happy inhabitants to enjoy all the blessings lavished by a bountiful Providence. These natural advantages, when joined, as they

really are, to those afforded by a mild and truly paternal government, and to the excellence of the local police, the cleanliness and comfort of the houses, and the perfect harmony and tranquillity of the natives, give to Kislar a superiority over many of the provinces of the vast government of the Caucasus. The city is protected by a solidly constructed fortress, which is well mounted and garrisoned.

The arrival of General Betancourt, which took place on the day that had been announced, was hailed with joy by the mercantile inhabitants of Kislar, who hoped to derive some benefit from his visit in these parts, as connected with some project useful to the commerce of the country.

Though Betancourt was surprised at meeting me here, he easily guessed the object of my journey, and applauded the motives that prompted me to withdraw from the Russian service, and return to my native land. He, however, was of opinion that I ought not to leave the empire without personally giving my thanks to Alexander for the magnanimous reception I had experienced from him, and proposed my joining him in Crimea towards the latter end of September, in order to proceed in his company to St. Petersburgh, an arrangement the more agreeable to my feelings, as it would afford me the opportunity of once more seeing those generous friends from whom I had received so many proofs of attachment and esteem.

By a letter, of which I was the bearer, General Betancourt received an invitation from Yermolow to cross the Caucasus, and cast a rapid glance over those provinces between which he had endeavoured to establish a communication, that he might report to the Emperor the benefits that were likely to accrue from the improvements he had projected. This invitation Betancourt accepted, though not without hesitation, as his itinerary was already traced, and his visit to Crimea urgent and at the express desire of the Emperor, but having consulted the map of the country, and heard from me certain details relative to the practicability of travelling with expedition in those provinces, he determined to comply with the desires of General Yermolow, hoping that by using the utmost despatch he would be able to accomplish both objects.

Accordingly General Betancourt, delaying his stay at Kislar as little as possible, gave orders for our immediate departure, and we left the city in the afternoon of the 7th by the road of Mozdok. Betancourt travelled with a comfort unknown in these districts, but to which his advanced age entitled him even more than his rank, or the high quality of the persons who accompanied him, among whom was Gaputskin, a general in the same department as Betancourt, of whose services the latter frequently availed himself. Besides several caleches for the conveyance of the party, there was a van, drawn also by post-horses, and containing every thing in provisions,

cooking utensils, &c., that could possibly be wanted; so that we travelled night and day, without experiencing any inconvenience in passing through the dreary steppes which extend from a little beyond Kislar to Tcherlanaia, where the colonies of the Terak commence. The surprise we excited among the Kalmucks, who along this line of road furnish the travellers with post-horses, presented a singular contrast with their usual listlessness. The women with scarcely any clothing on, and their long tresses floating down their shoulders, and the children entirely naked, crowded around us with an eagerness which was soon converted into a fixed stare of wonder and admiration. Every thing they saw in our hands, and which they were allowed to touch, underwent, then, the most minute examination; while the remnants of our repast immediately disappeared, as did also the travelling cap of General Betancourt who had inadvertently left it in the place where he had been sitting; and which was used by the boys as a receptacle for the fragments of our dinner.

On the evening of the 8th we reached Mozdok, where Betancourt left the greatest part of his equipage in the house of a wealthy inhabitant, who entertained the whole of our party most splendidly, and on the following day we crossed the Terak, meeting in our road escorts and relays ready on our arrival, which had been prepared beforehand by orders of the general-in-chief, so that we travelled with all the celerity that Betancourt could have wished.

The sight of the bold scenery that the passes of Caucasus offered at every step we made, excited in General Betancourt the same enthusiastic feelings which I had experienced on my first crossing that stupendous barrier of Europe and Asia, especially when after entering the Dariel he beheld the subterraneous road which has been hewn through the solid rock for more than five wersts, to avoid the inconveniences arising from the enormous avalanches that detach themselves annually from the lofty summits of the chain. But when we left behind the abrupt but sublime scenery of the mountains, and began to tread the soil of Georgia, the Eden of Asia, Betancourt could scarcely contain his rapture—"'Tis Andalusia itself!—'tis our beloved country, with all her charms and all her luxury!" he would often exclaim, and as often stopped to sketch some of the numerous and beautiful landscapes that every where met the eye.

On our arrival at Teflis he was received in the most flattering manner by General Yermolow, who took the greatest pleasure in showing him all the improvements which of late years had been effected in the city and its neighbourhood, that he might suggest others, and consult the Emperor on the new projects that Yermolow had still in store.

Four days were all that General Betancourt could spare for his visit to the capital of Georgia, where, it would seem, I had conducted him to be a witness to the extraordinary *dénoûement* that awaited the termination of my military career in Russia, and which

was more sensibly felt by my generous patron, who had so great a share in my admission into the Russian service, than even by myself.

The Emperor Alexander, in acknowledgment of the services lately rendered by the troops of Georgia, conferred on them the title of Army of the Caucasus, and decorations, promotions, and favours, on all those who had distinguished themselves in the expedition to Kazykoumyk, according to the report which the general-in-chief had given of their respective merits, and in which, I positively know, I was not forgotten. These imperial favours arrived at Teflis by an extraordinary courier. But the testimony that fell to my lot was of a very singular nature.

His Imperial Majesty, unable to disguise his displeasure at the successful attempt made by my oppressed countrymen to cast off the yoke which for six long years had paralyzed their energies, and reduced them to the same state of degradation as that into which the serfs of the empire were sunk, vented his spleen on me, and gave orders to the general-in-chief for my immediate dismissal from the service, and for my quitting the Russian dominions under an escort that should be made responsible for the prompt and entire execution of his wishes.

Such was the reward which the Emperor Alexander thought proper to adjudge to one who had aided in planting his standard on the towers of his enemies' ramparts!—But I shall pursue no further my reflections on this subject; for, however appropriate they might be with regard to a monarch who, though he had it in his power to ensure the happiness of the Christian world, chose rather to sow dissension and calamity among the people of those nations who sought by peaceable means a redress of the irreparable wrongs done them by an immoral faction, they can be of little avail, as Alexander has now rendered an account of his actions to that Power, who, in his eternal judgments, makes no distinction between the king and the humblest subject.

I do not consider myself at liberty to enter into a full explanation of the generous conduct which was privately adopted by General Yermolow towards me, when he found himself constituted the executor of those rigorous orders; but there are circumstances the omission of which would probably subject me to the charge of ingratitude, and which, therefore, ought to be mentioned here.

Yermolow, aware of the unfavourable impression which the Emperor's command for my dismissal must produce in the minds of my comrades, especially at a moment when he was to make known the multitude of favours which his Majesty was pleased to confer on those in whose dangers and triumphs I had shared, and unwilling to aggravate the unpleasant reflections which such intelligence was calculated to create in my own mind, by its immediate disclosure, kept it a profound secret from all, except from his guest General Betancourt, whose approaching departure rendered this confidence

necessary. This general, actuated by the same compassionate motives as Yermolow, abstained from mentioning the subject to me, though his uneasiness and concern were too apparent, and produced a certain reserve in his manner towards me, which being very unusual with him, did not fail to attract my observation. This circumstance, joined to the mysterious conduct of the general-in-chief himself, so contrary to his character, always cheerful and frank, and now thoughtful and distant, made a deeper impression on me, and naturally led me into a train of conjectures, which only added to my confusion.

Unwilling to appear in the light of an intruder, when my presence seemed to create a reserve, which I knew I had not merited, I made it a point to remain at home, especially during those moments of general satisfaction, under the well-founded pretext of suffering from the intermittent fever, which still hung about me, and in the company of my excellent friend Renemkamph, who, participating in my ennui, shared my solitude. Meantime the anniversary of Alexander's birth-day was celebrated with all the pomp displayed on these occasions, and Yermolow gave a splendid banquet to all the officers and functionaries then residing at Teflis, from which I studiously absented myself, my spirits being in such a state of dejection as not to allow of my mixing in those gay and convivial scenes.

At length the day fixed for the departure of General Betancourt having arrived, I went to take my final leave of him, and found him waiting for me to bid me adieu before he set off on his journey. "My dear friend," he said, taking me aside, and with an air of interest and compassion, "your evil fortune still pursues you. You have yet to learn the most disagreeable intelligence, which it was impossible either to foresee or prevent. Do you stand in need of money?" and after pausing for a minute, during which he easily read in my countenance a negative to his question, he drew his pocket-book, and writing a few words on a paper which he put in my hands, added "In whatever part of Europe you should find yourself without means, do not give yourself up to want, but make use of that paper, and you will obtain any sum sufficient for your relief. You ought to venerate Yermolow as you would your father... and that young man (Renemkamph) as your best and sincerest friend."

Saying this he bade me farewell, the tears starting to his eyes, and immediately proceeded to his carriage, leaving me in a state of astonishment and confusion, from which I recovered only to perplex and lose myself in conjectures on what I had heard from the kindest of my benefactors.

CHAPTER XL.

General Yermolow imparts to Don Juan Van Halen the order for his expulsion—Kindness of the general-in-chief—The author prepares to depart—His farewell of his friends—Exertions of Yermolow in a representation of the author to the Emperor—The general-in-chief presents his purse to the author—Baron Renemkamph accompanies him to Mozdok—The author arrives at Dubno in Volhynia—General Gogniel gives him a friendly reception—Society in Dubno—Alexander consigns the author to the Austrians—Prince Reuss Plauen, governor of Leopold in Galitzia, takes charge of him—Humorous description of an Austrian grenadier who guards him—Mode in which the police conduct him privately through the dominions of Austria—His adventure at Lintz—Arrival at Passau—He is well received by the Bavarians, and is no longer under the surveillance of the police of despotism—He receives friendly advice at Lindau—He embarks on the lake of Constance—He escorts a young lady to Zurich—Arrival at Berne—He travels through Geneva, Lyons, and the south of France, to Bayonne—Meeting with a Russian officer at Montpellier—Don Juan Van Halen enters his native land and embraces his parents and friends.

The favours dispensed by the Emperor had now been announced to my comrades, though not yet his Majesty's order for my expulsion from his dominions. The moment, however, was drawing near, and Renemkamph, who had learned the secret from General Betancourt, prepared me for the unexpected intelligence, in such a manner however as to leave the unpleasant task of its disclosure for the general-in-chief, who sent me word through the Baron that he would see me privately for the purpose of making some important communications to me.

Having, agreeably to this request, presented myself in the general's cabinet at the appointed hour, Yermolow, after making some reflections on the vicissitudes of my life, and in some measure preparing me for some unpleasant communication, imparted to me the orders of the Emperor, which, however, he declared, he would not enforce with the rigour they were prescribed, as, from his knowledge of the character of Alexander, he was convinced they did not emanate from the Emperor himself, but from some of those by whom he often was biassed. "I am of opinion," he added, "that you should write a brief exposition to his Majesty, touching upon the most prominent events of your life and reverses of fortune, without omitting the last you have experienced; and I will on my side add what I think will be an ample apology for my departing from orders which would fix on his Majesty the stigma of ingratitude and injustice. Indeed I am too much interested in the honour and dignity of his name, to allow an officer whose good services I have recommended to his notice, to part from us with unfavourable im-

pressions on his mind. Accordingly, I will neither hasten your departure, nor place you under the vigilance of a guard. Your promise that you will abstain from entering Moscow and St. Petersburgh will be all I shall require of you. Meantime I advise you to continue wearing your uniform, and to make no alteration that may betray the real cause of your departure. Be then superior to this new reverse, and return to our society; for when we separate, there is every reason to believe, it will be for ever."

Four-and-twenty hours after this interview, my exposition to the Emperor was on its way to St. Petersburgh; but unwilling to increase the responsibility of General Yermolow by delaying my departure beyond the time indispensable for making the arrangements for my journey, I hastened them, and according to the established custom, gave to my comrades a farewell dinner, at which I had also the pleasure of seeing most of the ladies and gentlemen in whose houses I had been a visiter at Teflis.

My private means had not been much increased during my service in the Russian army; so that I was obliged to raise some money by the sale of my small collection of books, and of the only horse that remained to me, the produce of which, the reader will easily believe, was by no means such as would defray my travelling expenses from one extremity of Europe to the other; but being an old campaigner I felt little concern at this, and on the 31st of October I presented myself to the general-in-chief, to receive his final instructions respecting my journey, on which I was to set out on the 3d of November. According to the instructions I then received from Yermolow, I was to wait at Dubno* the final resolution of the Emperor; "for," said he, "I hope he will see his error and do you justice. At all events I will have you accept of this document,† which may be the means of shielding you from the intrigues of those who may be inclined to molest you. Besides, I advise you to visit the general-commandant of that district, who is an old comrade of mine, and has his head-quarters in that town. He is a very worthy man, and you may be sure of meeting from him a good reception."

On hearing that Baron Renemkamph was desirous of accompanying me as far as Mozdok, he readily granted him his permission, and begged me to defer our departure till the afternoon of the day we had fixed upon, that we might all dine together once more.

The moment for my taking a final leave of Yermolow having arrived, the general rose from table, and motioning to my friend and myself to follow him to his cabinet, inquired of me on reaching it, with an air of deep interest, what money I had wherewith to travel from those confines of Asia to the furtherest extremity of Europe.

* A town in Volhynia on the frontiers of Russia and Galitcia.
† See note L.

I replied that I had received the *pragoni*,* and had besides what I considered sufficient to defray all my expenses as far as Dubno.

"And then how will you proceed?" he again inquired.

"By procuring from the nearest Spanish ambassador what will enable me to reach the frontiers of Spain."

The general smiled good-naturedly, and said, "You have strange notions of ambassadors! Psha, psha!—you must not be childish.—It is my wish that you should reach your home without subjecting yourself to humiliations—accept this—I will take no refusal—you shall repay me when you can."

Saying this he placed in my hand all the cash of which he was possessed, (300 ducats of Holland, 3300 francs,) a fact of which I was afterwards assured by my friend, and which will be readily believed by those who know the total indifference of Yermolow for money, his unparalleled generosity, and consequently his want of riches. He also presented me with a large white bourka, which he had received on that day from the manufacturing mountaineers, who are in the habit of making such a present to the chief who commands in Georgia, and which Yermolow desired me to preserve as a production of the country where I had served.

He then embraced me affectionately, and said with the tenderness of a father—"Farewell, my dearest friend! May God protect you from the machinations of your enemies, and pour his blessings on you!"

Our horses being in readiness at the door of the general's house, my friend and myself, followed by our two servants, set off on our journey across the Caucasus, and reached Mozdok seven days after our departure from Teflis. Here I bade an eternal farewell to my obliging friend Renemkamph, whose generous and affectionate conduct towards me I can compare only to that of my former comrade Polo, though to this day I have been unable to ascertain whether any one of the numerous letters I have written to him has ever reached him.

In Mozdok, Father Henry, from whom I met as hospitable a reception as ever, notwithstanding the orders he had received from his superiors in Europe of holding no communication with me, (of which he himself apprised me with the candour that characterized him,) returned me various things which I had left with him on my first arrival at this city, and having also received back my kibitka, I proceeded on my journey, attended by a Polish servant, who was on his return to his native country, and who filled the place of the faithful dennstchik with whose services I was obliged to dispense on my quitting Mozdok, that he might rejoin the regiment to which I had belonged.

* Post-money, which the government grants to every officer travelling from one place to another, and which is just sufficient to defray the most necessary expenses.

Owing to the rigour observed in the quarantines, especially towards those who come from the eastern side of the Caucasus, and to some mistake that occurred, we were detained fifteen days in that of Yegorlik, and only reached Dubno on the night of the 21st November, when the cold began already to be severely felt.

The hotel where I alighted at Dubno was kept by an Italian, a very pleasant and serviceable man, who had succeeded in establishing it on an excellent footing. I did not, however, remain long in it; for on the following morning, when I presented myself to General Goguel, commandant of the division of infantry stationed in the vicinity of this city, who had already been informed by General Yermolow of my journey thither, and of the motives that occasioned it, he insisted on my taking up my quarters in his house, assigning me a room next to his own.

General Goguel, with whom I now became acquainted for the first time, was a man in the prime of life, of a noble and martial mien, and very fine person. He had served under the orders of General Yermolow in the European campaigns, and was greatly attached to him. From the moment I took up my residence with him, he manifested in an unequivocal manner the interest and sympathy he felt for me, and did all he could to render my stay at Dubno as pleasant as possible, by introducing me to all the officers of his division, and especially to General Bartelemi, commandant of the brigade of artillery stationed in this city, to Colonel Baronow, and to various other chiefs, from whom I likewise met the kindest reception.

The principal society at Dubno was at the house of Countess Olisar, a French lady who had belonged to the suite of the Princess Pauline Bonaparte, and who was herself the ornament of that place. She kept an open table for the ladies and officers who resided at Dubno, and evening assemblies, at which I had the pleasure of attending with my worthy host until the 14th of December, when the time for my departure arrived.

On the morning of that day the final resolution of the Emperor reached General Goguel. The post that brought it had been despatched from Warsaw at the moment when Alexander was setting off for the congress of Troppau; and the present order, though it did not require like the former that I should be escorted as a malefactor out of the Russian dominions, was by no means more favourable to me nor more honourable to its author, since it enjoined that I should be placed at the entire mercy of the Austrian cabinet, between whose members and myself there was not nor could ever be the remotest connexion. Indeed, whether I was to be considered as a Spaniard or as a Russian officer, the outrage now done me by the autocrat was equally disgraceful and unmerited.

According to the present imperial order I was immediately to set

off for Leopold* accompanied by an officer of my own rank, who was to deliver me over to the Austrian general-governor of that city, who by the time of my arrival would have received instructions respecting the conduct he was to observe towards me.

General Goguel, as an officer responsible for the execution of those orders, was under the obligation of carrying them into effect, though as a friend, who saw this fresh injustice with concern, he did all that was in his power to mitigate its rigour. Accordingly, displaying as much generosity as his illustrious friend General Yermolow, he made me an offer of his purse, of which (thanks to the liberality of the former) I did not stand in need; and leaving to my choice to appoint the officer who was to accompany me to Leopold, he placed his carriage at our disposal. Having requested the company of Major Tarakanow, I took my leave of General Goguel and his officers in the midst of the warmest assurances of friendship and regret, and set off with my new travelling companion for the place of my destination, at which we arrived two days after.

Soon after alighting we presented ourselves to the Austrian general, Prince Reuss Plauen, who, in his peculiar diffuse manner, informed me that my stay at Leopold was likely to be long, as the Aulic council had not yet determined what course to pursue with me, and he gave a tolerably broad hint to my companion that his presence might well be dispensed with, as I should be properly taken care of.

This was more fully explained on our withdrawing to the hotel, where we found a grenadier waiting to keep me company, and who was so exact in the discharge of his duty that he would not allow me to retire to my bed-room without following close at my heels. Major Tarakanow remonstrated with the general against this useless and ridiculous vigilance; but he was not attended to; so that the time for his return having arrived, he bade me adieu, and I remained in the custody of my grenadier. Nothing could be more annoying to me than the perpetual presence of this body-guard, who upon one occasion, however, afforded me much amusement. Having received an invitation to dine with the general-commandant of Leopold, and accepted it with the view of endeavouring to obtain some information respecting the cause of my detention here, I proceeded duly attended by my sentry, who to my utter astonishment followed me into the general's apartments, where he stood by my side as if he were my shadow, moving wherever I moved, and lastly posting himself behind my chair during the repast, without moving a limb or scarcely a muscle, the rigid gravity of his countenance heightening the ludicrous effect which his erect and immoveable posture imparted.

Several days had now elapsed, and no change was wrought in

* The capital of Austrian Galitcia.

my singular situation. I neither was allowed to write to my friends nor to form any acquaintance in the town; my complaints and my entreaties were equally disregarded. At length, having obtained permission to write to the Spanish diplomatic agent at the court of Vienna, I was informed, on the 15th of January, that the government had been graciously pleased to deliver me over to the civil police, and not only to trace the route I was to follow, but name the disbursement I was to make in order to defray my travelling expenses. In vain I protested against such a scandalous proceeding, which, had I declined the generous assistance of General Yermolow and trusted to the Spanish minister's pecuniary aid, would have placed me in an awkward dilemma; the soldier was displaced by an agent of the police, who thought proper to come into my room accompanied by several Jews of the lowest class, who in this part of Germany are the most active co-operators of the police. When I saw this rabble at the door of my apartment, I resisted their entrance as much as lay in my power; and, resolved not to submit to the indignity of being left at the mercy of this ruffianly crew, I protested* in moderate but firm terms to the military authority against this disgraceful measure, though with no better success than on previous occasions.

My limits will not permit of my entering into the details of the numberless vexations I experienced at the hands of the Austrian government and its agents,—details which would swell this narrative into another volume. I shall therefore pass them over in silence, and proceed with the remainder of my journey.

On the afternoon of the 19th of January I left Leopold in the custody of one of the police-men, and arrived early in the morning of the 27th at Brimm, in Moravia, where, on my alighting from the carriage, I was saluted by two ominous-looking fellows with lanterns in their hands, who came to reinforce my escort until the time for my departure should arrive, which was to be regulated at the will of the commissary of police of Brimm. This personage, who looked as if the world had been made for him alone, made his appearance in the office at about twelve at noon, and informed me with true German phlegm, that the government having interdicted my passing through Vienna, (where I neither knew nor was known to any one,) he had prepared for me a carriage, (of course at my own expense,) and given orders to one of his gentlemen, a policeman, to keep me company till he saw me safe into the hands of another, and to take care that I should proceed by the most direct road out of the Austrian territory.

As I had already experienced too much kindness at the hands of his countrymen to be so inconsiderate as to wish giving them further trouble, I had nothing to say against his wise determination, there-

* See Note M.

fore I returned him a thousand thanks, and set off for Lintz, unfortunately at a very slow rate, though such as the wretched horses and worse harness permitted, arriving at that city on the night of the 31st instant.

On the following morning I was taken before the director of police of the province, who received me with the haughty demeanour of one whose principal duty consisted in oppressing whomsoever his superiors pointed out as a fit object for persecution. This man put a pen into my hand, and imperiously ordered me to sign a paper written in a language of which I did not understand a word. This, of course, I refused to comply with, unless I was furnished with a copy and a faithful translation of the document.

The director, probably unused to hear from the poor wretches who fell under his absolute control a positive refusal like mine, could not contain his rage, and burst forth into abusive threats and imprecations to such an extremo, that I thought it high time to arrest his insolence by some hostile demonstration. Accordingly I seized upon a huge tin inkstand that lay on the table, and raising my arm on high that it might alight on his head with better aim, was on the point of trying my skill in the use of this new weapon, when some of his subalterns knocked it from my hand and saved the director's skull from the impending blow. As was to be expected, this did not for the present advance my cause, and I was reconducted to the hotel where I had alighted amidst the clamorous threats of the police-officers, which at that moment I minded as much as the passing winds, my patience having encountered too rude a trial not to give way before my highly excited indignation.

Six hours after this little affray I again saw the director in his office, and received the copy I had demanded, and a translation of the document I was to sign, as well as a certificate* of my having complied with his request, and without any further display of official insolence, he declared that I was at liberty to proceed on my journey.

This was the last of the fifty days I had spent in the Austrian territory, a prey to the displeasure of a government who could not conceal their rage at the overthrow of that despotic power in Spain which countenanced their own; and on the evening of that day (the 2d of February) I reached Passau, where the civil authority released me from the thraldom of my police guard, and the expensive government conveyance, requesting me in the most courteous manner to delay my departure until they should learn from a higher authority what route I was to follow, as I had been delivered over to them without a passport or instructions.

The treatment I experienced from the officers of the garrison, during the five days I remained at Passau, was as hospitable as it

* See Note N.

was unexpected. From the first moment of my arrival till the hour of my departure it was for me a continued festival; and though unknown to any of my entertainers, (who, however, were united to me by a kindred feeling for the triumph of the good cause of my country, in which the majority of the Bavarian nation evidently joined,) I was to them like an old comrade, in whose arrival they all rejoiced.

The vigilance of the neighbouring power, however, still continued unabated, and though I was now in a territory to which their authority did not extend, I was not only closely spied, but represented to the government of Bavaria as a dangerous revolutionist, whose departure from the country ought not to be delayed. Accordingly, the authorities at Munich issued their orders to those of Passau to allow me to proceed on my journey. I left this city on the 7th and arrived at Lindau on the 11th, without having experienced any more personal inconvenience, nor any tax on my reduced finances on the part of the Bavarian government.

A gentleman and his family with whom I travelled from Augsburgh to Lindau, and to whom in the course of our conversation I related some of my late adventures in Austria, invited me to spend with them the time I had to stay in the latter city, where they had their residence, and advised me to avoid pursuing my journey by land, as otherwise I must unavoidably enter again the Austrian territory, in order to reach Switzerland, and doubtless expose myself to fresh persecutions from that government, which would assign as an excuse the promise I had given at Lintz of never again returning to that empire.

This advice was too prudent to be disregarded by me, and accordingly I engaged a boat which was to convey me over the lake of Constance to the canton of Zurich, and on the following morning I set sail, in the company of a niece of the above-mentioned gentleman, who did me the honour of placing her under my protection as far as Zurich, whither she was going on a visit to a relation of hers who was one of the principal magistrates of the place. As our barge glided smoothly over the placid waters of the lake, my fair companion, who played on the guitar with exquisite taste, sung with much sweetness some of her national melodies, accompanying herself with her instrument, and threw an inexpressible charm over our short navigation, which was rendered still more delightful by the transparent beauty of a cloudless sky.

Soon after landing, my temporary ward, her old attendant, and myself, entered a travelling vehicle, and proceeded on our road to Zurich, which we reached on the morning of the following day. My extreme anxiety to see the termination of a journey fraught with more trouble and inconvenience than comfort or pleasure, induced me to decline the hospitable and courteous offer of the magistrate (to whom I presented the amiable lady who had been

placed under my care) of spending a few days in their company, and having taken my leave of them in the course of that day, I reached Berne on the morning of the 14th.

The Spanish minister who resided in this city, and whose house at Madrid I had frequented previous to my imprisonment, received me in a cold formal manner, which too clearly proved to me that the late political change in our country was not to his liking, though of all the people of Spain these diplomatic gentlemen had the least reason to complain of the revolution, since very few of them lost their posts, in which all their anxiety was centred, and which many deserved to lose. As, however, he could not, with any degree of propriety, refuse me a passport, he delivered me one, and took in exchange the contemptible documents that constituted my Austrian *feuille de route*.

I then continued my journey by way of Geneva, Lyons, along the Rhone and the south of France, to Bayonne, where I arrived on the 26th of the same month, having had the unexpected pleasure of meeting in Montpellier one of my best Russian friends, who held a high rank in the hussars of the guard, and in whose company I had spent some pleasant moments at Tzarskoïeselo. This gentleman, who was travelling in this delightful part of France for the benefit of his health, brought to my recollection scenes which, having sprung from kindness and hospitality, are indelibly imprinted in my mind.

At length, on the 27th, I had the inexpressible pleasure of again breathing the air of my native land, and some days after that of embracing my aged parents, brothers, and sisters, as well as my generous friends and fellow-sufferers.

THE END.

ITINERARY

FROM

TEFLIS IN GEORGIA TO THE PYRENEES.

Post Stations, Villages, Towns, and Cities.	Wersts.	Date.	Casual Observations.
Teflis	—	Oct. 3	
Tchartachalo . . .	26		
Douchet	24	4	
Ananur	10		
Passanaur	21		
Kaichaur	19	5	
Kobi	16		
Kazbek	16½		
Darial	8	6	
Wládi Caucasus . .	28		
Redoubt Elizabeth . .	22	7	
Redoubt Constantine .	28		
Mozdok	30	8	Travellers coming from Georgia are obliged to perform at Mozdok a quarantine of 48 hours.
Pauladolsk	13	11	
Skaterinograd . . .	22		
Progladnoe	18		
Soldaskaia-Malka . .	17		
Nablovskaia	20		
Georgiewsk	25		
Alexandriew	12	12	
Sabla	40		
Alexandrow	27		
Severnaia	19		
Gregoriewsk . . .	19		
Lechpaguen	33		
Stabropol	31	13	
Choskoskaia	31		
Douskaia	20		
Lesopasnoi	22		
Bregradnoi	25		
Kalalar	23		
Rampadi	20		
Pechanie-Kopain . .	23	14	
Yegorlyk	25		Yegorlyk is another place of quarantine. Should a traveller bring with him a bourka, or any other article manufactured by the mountaineers, not registered by the chiefs of the
Motschetnaia . . .	36	28	
Kagalnik	28		
Botnikaia	26½		
Oksay	29½	29	quarantines, either at Mozdok or at Teflis, he will be detained 15 days at this place, unless he chooses to part with the article which
Nakhetchiwan . . .	17		
Rostow	17		
Chadmisky	17		
Babinnskaia	20		
Prischivensk . . .	19		
Yvanovska	21		

Post Stations, Villages, Towns, and Cities.	Wersts.	Date.	Casual Observations.
Kolodiasia	12	Oct. 30	
Yasaleka	25		
Yvanofka	25		
Andrianopolsk	17		
Tchirnoukhina	18		
Zongouskoy	23		Zongouskoy belongs to the government of Catherinoslaw, and the further we travel from the country of the Cossacks, the greater the improvement in the post-horses, harness, &c.
Bykhanout	24		
Kapanki	20	31	The country about Kapanki is marshy, and the road very indifferent.
Slavianek	24		
Solguinskaia	30		
Yzioum	18	Nov. 1	The country in the neighbourhood of Yzioum is well cultivated, populous, and rich in flocks and cattle.
Gazochotka	33		
Balaklaia	21		
Ghekorikara	16	2	
Chequin	17		
Rokhan	18		
Kharkow	18		The hotels at Kharkow are excellent, especially that which has been honoured by Alexander, where there is a saloon expressly kept for him, that no other mortal was allowed to profane with his presence.
Lubotin	20		
Walky	28		
Kalnora	25	3	
Voinoukha	28		
Dounikova	16		
Poltava	20		Four wersts before reaching Poltava are the woods and heights where Charles XII. was defeated. The town has some good public buildings, but I thought it a dull place. Its situation, however, is picturesque enough, and bears some resemblance to Pau in France.
Kourlecho	18		
Poltavska	18		
Biklaserkova	25	4	
Biolazerkova	25		
Brigodirovka	18		
Yarol	23		Yarol is a good specimen of a Russian town. from the great contrast it affords in its magnificent buildings and the wretched hovels by which they are surrounded.
Sotnikoskaia	16		
Lubni	16		
Ywanowskaia	21		
Pegatin	22½	5	The nearer I came to Lithuania, the greater was the improvement in the post-horses and harness; indeed, in some of the stations every thing in these respects was on a perfect footing as in England.
Smotriki	20		
Yagotin	29		
Kiseleskawo	17		
Pereiaslaw	16		
Yarkovsi	18		
Borcipol	30		
Brabari	22		
Kiew	18	6	Kiew is a populous city. Its ancient churches and fortifications are evident proofs of its former splendour, when in the twelfth century it was the rival of Valodimir, and acted a prominent part in the civil dissensions of ancient Russia. Here the wide Dnieper is crossed. and the post stations are afterwards attended by Jews, whose women unite in the highest perfection what one would think incompatible with each other, namely, beauty and filth.
Bielogorodka	25		
Chastchin	23		
Rosevo	20		
Natarakovitch	16		
Rodomiplow	18		
Beregowka	18		
Stoudinitza	18	7	
Zitaumire	19½		From Zitaumire to Doubno the road in summer must offer the appearance of a garden, as it is bordered by numerous country-houses with pleasure-grounds, woods, and a well-cultivated soil.
Wilsk	16		
Paulina	20	8	
Sokolow	14		
Nizalon	12		
Novgorod-Walniky	21½		
Dedovitch	19	9	
Korick	16		
Anonopol	27		
Kobinskei	29½		
Astrokh	13½		Astrokh is one of the Russian barriers, and is protected by troops belonging to the army of the frontiers.
Foultcha	20½		
Warkowitsi	22		

Post Stations, Villages, Towns, and Cities.	Wersts.	Date.	Casual Observations.
Doubno	16	Nov. 10	Doubno contains about ten thousand inhabitants. It is an ancient city; but has many modern buildings, good barracks, and excellent warm baths for the troops.
Berbni	18	Dec. 2	Before reaching Berbni, there is another Russian barrier and a custom-house, with a post of Cossacks.
Bradi	25		Bradi is the rendezvous of the Hebrew smugglers.
Leopold	84	3	Leopold is a tolerably good city. It has some excellent hotels, particularly that of Russia. There is in this city a mean theatre where German plays are performed.
	German Miles.		
Cracow	38	Jan. 22	
Bilitz	16	24	
Teschen	8		The inhabitants of Teschen are not strangers to
Olmutz	11	26	the pleasures of the carnival, which they were
Brimm	—	27	enjoying as I passed through the town, though
Pohslitza	4		I observed that the gallants seemed more intent on their tobacco-pipes than on their fair partners, whose faces they perfumed with their frequent whiffs, which however kept in excellent time with the dance.
Zinaym	5	28	Zinaym is delightfully situated, and possesses several large tobacco manufactories belonging to the government, the revenues of which (as is the case in Spain) are absorbed by the numerous employés, who do little more than sport their uniforms.
Crems	8	29	Both at Crems and St. Polten there are a great
St. Polten	2		many convents. The vineyards in the neigh-
Melke	3	30	bourhood are truly contemptible.
Kemelback	3		
Stremburg	5		
Ens	3		
Lintz	5	31	The road from Lintz runs along the right bank
Efferdingen	4	Feb. 1	of the Danube, the beauty of which, even at this chilling season of the year, was striking.
Austrian barrier	3	2	The Austrian and Bavarian barriers are situated in a narrow defile, through which the road passes.
	Austrian Miles.		
Bavarian barrier	1		
Passau	½	7	Passau is pleasantly situated between the Danube
Wilshofen	2	8	and the Ynn, which bathes the foot of the fortress. The officers here have a club, in which evening assemblies are frequently given to the best families of the town. The theatre is small but pretty.
Ratisbon	14	9	In Ratisbon, I observed that the façades of
Augsburg	12	10	several houses were decorated with paintings, the subjects of which are taken from Don Quixote.
Memmingen	7	11	The kingdom of Wirtemburgh intersects the road
Lindau	10		of Bavaria. This irregular distribution of ter-
Rosehach	4	12	ritory is highly annoying to the traveller, who is obliged to undergo fresh examinations and impertinencies in the custom-houses of these kingdoms.
	French Leagues.		
St. Galle	5		
Zurick	10	13	
Berne	14	14	
Lausanne	18	15	

Post Stations, Villages, Towns, and Cities.	French Leagues.	Date.	Casual Observations.
Geneva	12	Feb. 16	From Geneva to Lyons I travelled in the company of the director of the botanical garden of the latter city, who was an enthusiastic admirer of our celebrated professor of botany La Gasca.
France.			
Fortune of l'Ecluse .	10	18	
Velgarde			
Lyons		19	This road is too well known to require any observations.
Nimes		22	
Montpellier		23	
Toulouse		24	
Forbes			
Pau			
Bayonne		28	At Bayonne I hired a coche de colleras (travelling coach), and a few hours after had the pleasure of entering Spain, cheered by the merry songs of the Zagal, and the jingling sounds of the bells of the swift-paced mules.

NOTES.

Note A, page 26.

"I saw myself abandoned by Joseph in a manner no less unkind than unmerited."—That the reader may be better able to understand the true meaning of the above, I must be allowed to state a fact which will explain the whole. In the month of September, 1813, while Joseph was living retiredly at Morfontaine, I undertook a journey to his seat, to request my being allowed to follow him, whatever might be the vicissitudes of his fortune. This offer, which could not but be disinterested at a time when his brother's power was fast vanishing, and which indeed emanated from the personal regard I entertained for him, was met by him in the most ungracious, not to say ungrateful, and repulsive manner. I was rudely desired to quit his house, and never again to appear in his presence. Though wounded to the quick by such unaccountable conduct, I was obliged to endure in secret this affront, till the late calamities of my country having compelled me to take refuge in the same country where he had established his residence, I wrote to him the following letter:

"To Count Survilliers (Joseph Buonaparte).

"Philadelphia, August 20th, 1825.

"Sir,—Faithful to my engagements, and following the example of the many respectable individuals who surrounded you in Spain, I sacrificed the first years of my youth in your service. An outrage, which will never be effaced from my heart, was my only and last recompense. This I have always endeavoured to conceal from the world, perhaps at the expense of my reputation. I would that I could have concealed it from myself. It is unnecessary to add that my efforts have been vain. Still you have no reason to complain, and my conduct must be well known to you. I sought in you a grateful and magnanimous man, at a period when your monarchical rights were expiring. It is painful to say what I found you. Your attendants, and even your worthy and respectable lady, witnessed with a blush the scene which took place in your own library. As a monarch, you have shown the esteem you felt for those who like myself supported the independence of my country against those who, under the pretence of protecting you, dared to insult my countrymen; and which you have seen, if I may be allowed to express myself thus, sealed with my blood in partial struggles with them.* As a French prince, and an entire stranger to me, you made me feel, in the most painful manner, that I had no time to lose in effecting a reconciliation with my countrymen. For this there was only one resource left me, and I did not hesitate in adopting it, proving by the dangers to which I exposed myself, that I was equally sincere and disinterested.

"Human vicissitudes have brought me, after twelve years of singular and extraordinary events, to this hospitable land. I ought, therefore, to seize this opportunity of asking an explanation of the personal affront I then received, which was as little merited on my part as unjust on yours. I ask this in the hope you will not refuse it. I expect more. I flatter myself that you will not attribute this request to any unworthy motives—that you will not add to your first offence that of imagining that the impression of the outrage I then received can ever be cancelled by any pecuniary offer. Superior to the reverses of fortune, which are the lot of those who, like myself, glory in supporting the good cause of their country to their tomb, I have never, nor will ever degrade myself so far as to place myself under any obligation to those who have forced me to consider them as my enemies. I would rather relinquish life than abandon such a principle. Three lines in explanation of a past event so mortifying to my feelings, are alone capable of tranquillizing me. This is all I ask, and I flatter myself you will not refuse it.

"I have the honour to be, Sir, &c.

"Juan Van Halen."

This letter, which I sent to the Count through the medium of a trusty person, re-

* This has reference to two duels in which the author was engaged with some French officers, who affected to consider the Spaniards as conquered enemies.

mained unanswered; and finding that even after waiting two years I could obtain not a word in explanation, I thought it due to myself to give it publicity; and here the matter ended.

Note B, page 70.

"To desire the good of one's country, Sire, is not conspiring."—This doctrine, though it may appear subversive of the divine right of monarchs to those whose interest it is to uphold absolute power, is not only authorized but prescribed by the laws of Spain. Don Alonzo the Wise, in his Leyes de Partida, law III. title XIX. partida II. expressly says:—

"Whenever the country suffers through tyranny, all the inhabitants of Spain, from the age of fourteen to seventy, are under the obligation of taking up arms to overthrow the tyrant, and if the men should be insufficient to effect this, it is the duty of the women to assist them; for it is but right that every individual should actively cooperate in the overthrow of the tyrant. Whoever should neglect to come forward at the call will commit manifest treason, and thereby be subject to the penalties imposed on those who are guilty of high treason."

"There is tyranny in a kingdom," says that monarch in the same law and partida, title I., "when the prince neglects the public weal, when by his conduct he enervates the people, renders them timid, and sows mistrust among them, when he impoverishes them, persecutes the wise and the rich, prohibits political meetings among the citizens, causes their words and actions to be spied, and intrusts the custody of his person to foreigners, or allows himself to be swayed by their advice."

Such is the language of a *king*—of a king who reigned during an age which we are pleased to denominate dark,—and such is the general tenor of the principles on which our ancient constitution is founded. Yet it is for endeavouring to revive the laws of a wise monarch—laws acknowledged as fundamental by the absolutists themselves—that the cruelly oppressed people of Spain groan under the yoke imposed on them by the allied sovereigns, and that the bold and virtuous asserters of the rights of the people die on the scaffolds, or drag a wretched existence in dungeons, or in foreign countries—and this in a century which in our senseless vanity we style an enlightened age!

Note C, page 132.

On my return to Spain in 1821, wishing for my private satisfaction to have from those friends who were then in Madrid, and who could prove the truth of many of the foregoing facts, a judicial declaration, I caused an inquiry to be instituted, the original of which is in my possession, and from which I here give an extract. It is headed as follows:—

"*Inquiry made in this capital before* DON ANGEL FERNANDEZ DE LOS RIOS, *Judge, &c. &c. at the petition of* DON JUAN VAN HALEN, *&c. Fifteenth June*, 1821.

"*Second Witness*, DON JOSE NUNEZ DE ARENAS.

"In continuation of the inquiry, Don Jose Nuñez de Arenas, captain of artillery in active service, appeared before the said judge, and in my presence (the notary) took the oath to adhere strictly to the truth in all he knew, and answer whatever questions might be put to him; and like the former witness stated:—

"That being engaged in 1817 in this capital with a great number of meritorious patriots in bringing about the political change which has at length been obtained, the witness learned that in the month of September of the same year, the Lieutenant-colonel Don Juan Van Halen (whom he knew ever since 1814) had been arrested, confined in the Inquisition of Murcia, and afterwards secretly removed to that of Madrid: That the certainty he had of the said Van Halen being in correspondence with several individuals with whom the witness was connected, inducing him to believe, like the rest of his friends, that the cause of his imprisonment was an excessive enthusiasm for the good cause, he, in union with the rest, resolved to procure him all the assistance in his power, and with this object took the steps which the circumstances of the times allowed. While thus engaged, he received for the first time, through the medium of the meritorious patriot Don Jacobo Murfy, captain of a frigate, a note written with blood, and addressed to the Lieutenant-colonel Don Facundo Infantes, and in which Van Halen described the wretched situation to which he was reduced, strictly charging him to inform his friends, that till then the state of his cause was such, that not an individual was implicated.

"Thoroughly convinced, that Van Halen's sufferings (the effects of which he afterwards had the grief to see) would terminate his existence within the walls of the Inquisition, the witness, in conjunction with those who interested themselves for the fate of the prisoner, agreed to protect his escape, which took place on the 30th of January of the same year: That the witness does not think himself at liberty to mention all the names of the meritorious patriots with whom he was allied to realize that project, in which one of the heroes of our revolution* took a part; but he considers it indispensable for him to give a detailed account of the manner in which it took place, saying to this effect, that he has in his possession original documents of the Holy Office, which prove, beyond all doubt, how Van Halen was tried as a state prisoner, and consequently confined in one of the secret dungeons of the Inquisition, where he was denied all communication. By these same documents, the means employed by Van Halen to effect his escape may be also inferred, the whole perfectly agreeing with what the witness heard from Van Halen on the subject." Here follows a detailed account of the manner in which my flight was accomplished, with which it is useless to trouble the reader, as it has already been fully explained.

Fifth Witness.—Written communication of DON JUAN ROMERO ALPUENTE, deputy of the Cortes, &c. to Don Angel Fernandez de los Rios, judge, &c. in answer to a letter, in which he was requested to state what he knew respecting the persecution undergone by Van Halen: dated the 13th of June, 1821.

"It is very evident to me, that Don Juan Van Halen has been and still is one of the strongest adherents to the political constitution of the monarchy, for which he has endured the most horrible sufferings and persecutions.

"I am convinced of his extraordinary adhesion to the system, because he laboured with me and others in different parts of the Peninsula for its re-establishment. His activity, efforts, and constant readiness to do whatever should befit our plan, are far beyond any one I ever knew.

"In the same positive manner I can speak to the persecution and sufferings he underwent; for he, like myself and the rest of the patriots of Murcia, who corresponded with those of Granada, Valencia, Barcelona, and Madrid, for the above object, was imprisoned in that city, and afterwards removed to the prisons of the Inquisition of Madrid. Having escaped from them, he wandered in foreign countries, such as England, Russia, &c. in the army of which he served during his emigration. On the re-establishment of the constitution, he returned to Madrid, where after a residence of three months, during which he has repeatedly demanded to be reinstated in his former post, he has not yet been able to obtain it, his honour and his interests suffering more by this delay than they did even in the time of his persecutions, when he withstood not only the rigours but the promises of liberty and reward, which the agents of the former government made to him, if he would discover his confederates. Ever faithful to his friends, the inquisitors could not extort from him the least word which might serve to criminate them. This I affirm on my own knowledge, founded no less upon the questions that were put to me, than *upon those that were omitted* at the time of and after my imprisonment; and I sincerely believe that it applies equally to the rest, having heard them state the same.

"The above is what I am at liberty to declare, in answer to your letter. God keep your honour, &c.

(Signed) "ROMERO ALPUENTE."

Seventh Witness.—DON JOSE SAUMELL, surgeon of the first regiment of infantry of the royal guards, being interrogated, like the rest, says among other things, "that at the beginning of 1818, he was called secretly by his friends to attend in his asylum the Lieutenant-colonel Don Juan Van Halen, who was suffering from the effects of the horrible treatment he had experienced in the Inquisition, from which he had just succeeded in escaping, &c. &c." Here follows a long statement of his friendly attendance on me during the time I remained concealed in Madrid.

The rest of the declarations contain an account of what each of the witnesses knew, and which perfectly coincides with what has already been related.† That of Brigade-general Torrijos concludes thus:—

* General Arco Agüero.

† Much to my regret, my limits will not permit of my inserting here the interesting narrative of Don Ignacio Lopez Pinto, with whom I was intimately united from the commencement of our proceedings in Murcia, and who, like several other friends whose statements are also in my possession, suffered severely in the dungeons of the Inquisition of Valencia.

"When, during my imprisonment, I learned the escape of Lieutenant-Colonel Van Halen, I did not hesitate a moment, *in throwing the whole blame upon him, as was indeed agreed by all the prisoners*, that we might mitigate the rigour of our misfortunes, his flight having placed him beyond the reach of the tyrannical power of those who had brought so many evils upon our country. In one of the interrogatories, the judge intrusted with our cause, Don Juan Castañeda, said to me, that it was very fortunate for Van Halen to have made his escape, as otherwise he would certainly have died on the scaffold, because he insisted in denying the most evident facts to prevent our being implicated in his trial, and that such conduct would inevitably have hastened his ruin, without however preventing ours. These, and a multitude of other favourable circumstances, many of which are drawn from original sources, have convinced me, that, in the same manner as Van Halen, previous to his imprisonment, showed himself so valiant, generous, and undaunted, he was no less faithful to his friends than to his country, during the cruel sufferings he endured, from which nothing but his serenity, courage, and intrepidity, seconded by friendship, could have extricated him."

The following letter, which was written by General Torrijos in answer to an explanation I asked of the above passage in italics, will not only confirm the foregoing statements, but show in its true light the injustice or malice of those who are always ready to throw obloquy on the purest intentions.

"My dear Van Halen,

"I have just received through the medium of your brother-in-law,* your letter of the 28th instant, in which you request me to explain the accusations that we made against you after your flight from the Inquisition, and which you have more than once heard from my lips. But, should you think it necessary to have it in writing for any particular purpose, I feel myself bound both in justice and friendship to repeat it here. You were the first of our friends who fell into the unholy hands of the members of the Holy Office, and of the central commission of the state. The news of your imprisonment, of Serafin del Rio, and Esbry's, created the utmost uneasiness and alarm in the minds of all our friends. Shortly after I was myself imprisoned as well as F——, and successively the rest; but as some time intervened from one imprisonment to the other, the accusations which might otherwise have resulted against us were lessened, both on account of the still existing intercourse, and of the means which every one employed to evade those charges; so that many believed themselves secure, and some were not mistaken. You are not, however, aware how difficult and inefficacious those means would have been against the perfidious intentions of the commissioners to whom our cause was intrusted; but your flight furnished us with unexpected and more successful means of defence. It was immediately announced to us by our friends of Madrid with the utmost enthusiasm, and shed such a light on the proceedings instituted against us, that it saved us from the impending evils. From that moment you alone were declared to be the conspirator,—you were the only one who had invited us all to join in your plot, but had experienced the contempt and even threats of all. You had made use of our names, forged many signatures, and even whole letters in my own hand-writing, for the purpose of giving yourself importance, and seduce others by means of our influence. In a word, the whole of it was a manœuvre of your own, that had led to the ruin of a number of respectable individuals, whose services and good conduct were acknowledged by all.

"Had these horrible imputations been confined to the dark walls of the Inquisition, they would have produced no effect; for our judges could not be so blind as not to discover that the whole was a plan formed by the prisoners themselves to paralyze or destroy the charges that were brought against us. But once this idea set afloat, and adopted by our friends, the public in general who were favourable to us, as much through the cause for which we were suffering as for the esteem in which many of us were held, together with the apprehensions entertained for the destiny of all, and for the imminent danger in which the lives of some stood, gladly embraced a belief of our innocence; so that either through friendship, interest, or sympathy for some of the prisoners, every one became your accuser, and took pleasure not only in repeating our accusations, but in adding circumstances which from the first moment inclined all to believe you as the sole contriver of the whole plan. I may add, without exaggeration, that there were disputes as to who had been the first to discover this.

"It is not at all surprising, if after hearing these accusations amplified and disfigured by each commentator, repeated by all for nearly three years, many persons

*General Quiroga.

sincerely believed you an intriguing demagogue, or something worse. You were absent, and it was important for us to obtain our liberty. Accordingly, though many of us would have been glad to have checked the progress of this opinion, it would have been impossible for any one to do it without rendering himself liable to suspicion, and without destroying the good effect of the fiction, which had given such favourable bias to the opinion of the public that our judges, and even the government, afraid of exasperating too much the public mind, thought it prudent not to carry matters to an extremity with us.

"The rising of the troops, which at that time had been already projected, and which in the year 1820 was successfully carried into effect, made us persist in this resolution; which, though it prolonged our sufferings, made us hope that we should receive our liberty from the hands of our copartners in opinions and sacrifices. It was even so. The nation having reasserted her dignity, we all returned to the bosoms of our families, in the full enjoyment of the esteem and consideration of all, and feeling the double pleasure of being personally and politically free. In those happy moments, a few of your friends, alive to the injury done to your character, endeavoured to rectify the opinion, perverted by former statements, by simply relating past occurrences as they had really been, and make your innocence apparent; showing that you had acted like ourselves in every respect. Our declarations, however, were not credited by all, some imagining that we were endeavouring to exculpate you, and others that we put forth these statements with a view of attributing to ourselves services which we had not rendered.

"This new circumstance you yourself saw corroborated on your arrival at Madrid in 1821, when, as you must remember, a certain personage asked you if our endeavours were really directed to the overthrow of despotism. Do not believe this to have been accidental: it was the effect of a contemptible plan devised by some who were anxious to appear as the fathers of our liberties, and who even disputed it to the liberators themselves. You know what I here allude to, and therefore I shall pursue the subject no further.

"This simple and frank statement of facts gives, in my opinion, an answer to the questions addressed to me in your letter; as there result from it, first, That you were accused of having fabricated the whole account of the steps we had taken, and the efforts we had made towards obtaining the liberty of our country. Secondly, That in the eyes of our judges you could appear only in your true light, as it could not be concealed from them that the whole was a plan grounded on your flight. Thirdly, That this plan was almost spontaneously adopted by all; for, as you well know, in great dangers, though there may be only one way for evasion, it will not long remain concealed from any. Besides, the one resorted to was too simple to escape the penetration of any of the prisoners. Fourthly, That the effect produced on the public mind by those statements, which in some measure were confirmed by the silence of most of your fellow-sufferers, occasioned by the resolution we had adopted of saying nothing of our services or sufferings, either to the people or to the government, must necessarily have made you experience an unfavourable reception from those who were ignorant of the details of this affair.

"In this conjuncture you were obliged to recur to us, and we avowed the truth in the certificates we gave you. The government saw their error, and reinstated you in the post you merited; and public opinion was rectified by the publicity you gave to our certificates in the manifesto which you published in Madrid. You were not, however, without enemies; men who belong to a certain class of people that are indefatigable place-hunters, seeking to aggrandize themselves by adducing exaggerated pretensions to secret services, and many of whom in fact succeeded; who, secure by our silence, saw your arrival at Madrid from Russia in 1821 with alarm. Their fears were awakened, because they knew that you might say many unpalatable truths; that you were uncompromising; and that if you spoke, they would lose much of that opinion which had opened to them the road to fortune, and to the posts to which their patriotism alone aspired.

"I think I have now fully answered your letter; but should I be mistaken, or should you suppose I have omitted or not sufficiently explained any particular point, you have only to mention it; and believe me I shall feel a great pleasure in doing all that may tend to establish the justice of your claims, and the truth of those facts.

"With my best respects to Madame Van Halen, I remain sincerely yours,

"JOSE MARIA TORRIJOS.

"39, Brompton Row, January 28th, 1827.

Note D, page 149.

The following documents will give some idea of the activity [illegible] persecutors in endeavouring to discover the place of his retreat.

Literal copy of the Circular issued by order of the Inquisitor General to all the tribunals in the kingdom.

"On the night of the 30th of January, at about seven o'clock, Lieutenant-colonel Don Juan Van Halen escaped from the secret prisons of this Holy office. The following is a description of his person: He is between eight and nine and twenty years of age, measures six feet or above, is well proportioned, his hair is of a bright brown, inclining to auburn, his face regularly full and good-looking, of a fair and clear complexion, his eyes are of a bright blue, and animated, and in his manners he is naturally restless and impetuous. We request your honours to use every means for his discovery, not only in that city, but in every town and village of its district; and we further request you immediately to secure his person in the prisons of that Holy Office, and to inform us of the same, that we may adopt the best method for his removal to those of the capital; at present acknowledging the receipt of this, with any commands you may please to favour us. God keep your honours many years! &c.

(Signed)

"Don Luis Cubero.
"Don Mariano Martinez Esperanza.
"Don Vincente Alonso de Berdeja.

"Inquisition of the Court, February 3, 1818.
"To the Holy Office of the Inquisition of Barcelona."

Circular of the Inquisition of Barcelona to the Agents of all the towns and villages of its jurisdiction.

"Being requested to proceed to the arrest of Lieutenant-colonel Don Juan Van Halen, whose personal description is as follows [*Here is given a repetition of the Madrid circular,*] we commission you to inquire with the utmost caution, secrecy, and activity, after the said lieutenant-colonel, and use every endeavour to discover the place of his concealment, either in that or any town or village of its district, that he may be immediately arrested in the name of this tribunal, demanding of the justices or authorities of the town where he may be found all the assistance in their power, and taking every necessary precaution to prevent his re-escape, by having recourse to the military chief of the district; immediately informing us of the same, that his removal to the secret prisons of this tribunal may take place in the manner and form prescribed in our private regulations. God preserve your honours many years!

(Signed)

"Dr. Don Juan Manuel de Zea Escudero.
"Dr. Don Juan Blaha y de Casals, Secretary.
"Dr. Don Juan Calva y Marti, Secretary.

"Given in the Royal Palace of the Inquisition of Barcelona, on the 11th of February, 1818."

Answers from some of the Familiars in the towns.

"Most illustrious Sir,

"In fulfilment of the private commission intrusted to me by that tribunal to use the utmost caution, secrecy, and activity, in discovering the place of concealment of Lieutenant-colonel Don Juan Van Halen, I have the honour to inform you, that all my endeavours in this town have been fruitless. Desirous, however, to perform the duties of my office with becoming prudence and zeal, I will continue my searches not only in this city, but in all the towns and villages of its district, and should I succeed in this object I will secure him, demanding of the justices or authorities where he may be found, the necessary assistance, and immediately inform you of the same, that you may issue your orders for his removal to the secret prisons of the tribunal. God preserve your honour many years!

(Signed) "Jose Viladesau

"Mataro, February the 21st, 1818.

"To the illustrious Sir, Dr. Don Juan Manuel de Zea y Escudero, Inquisitor of the Holy Office of Barcelona."

Another Answer.

"Illustrious Sir,

"Having received your circular of the 11th of the present month, I have endeavoured to fulfil the commission with which I have been charged with all pos

sible caution and secrecy for the arrest of Lieutenant-colonel Don Juan Van Halen. In the first place, I have looked over the note in which were inscribed all the names of the officers who were in the service at the time I filled the office of bailiff, and I have not been able to find the above name, either among those who have retired from the service, who are abroad, or who are missing; and to make more sure of it, I inquired of my friend the commandant-at-arms, the colonel of the regiment of cavalry of the prince, whether he knew the name; but to no purpose. I have, however, learned from a captain, who now serves in the above regiment, and who had before served in that of Van Halen, that this officer was arrested in Murcia, by order of the government, and that he was afterwards removed to Madrid, since which time he knows nothing more of him. Should your honour think fit for me to keep the official warrant, that I may execute your orders in case of his coming here, you may rely on its complete fulfilment; but should you not think it adviseable, I will return the warrant without delay. God keep your honour! &c.

(Signed) "MARIANO THOMAS, Familiar.

"Reus, February 22d, 1818."

Another Answer.

"MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SIR,

"Immediately after receiving the commission with which you have honoured me, I proceeded to the search of Don Juan Van Halen; but notwithstanding all my endeavours I have only been able to learn that he passed through this town a long time back, and not a single word respecting his present residence. I have nothing more at present to communicate. God keep your honour! &c.

(Signed) "FRANCISCO ONS.

"Manresa, 2d of May, 1818."

Another Answer.

"ILLUSTRIOUS SIR,

"Notwithstanding the active steps I have taken, seconded by the familiar Don Juan Mas, I have not yet been able to learn any thing respecting the place of concealment of Lieutenant-colonel Don Juan Van Halen. God preserve your honour! &c.

(Signed) "The MARQUIS DE PALMERALA.

"Barcelona, 2d of March, 1818."

Conclusion of the Inquiry.

"MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SIR,

"The Inquisitor Fiscal having seen the replies of the persons who were commissioned to inquire after and apprehend Don Juan Van Halen, is of opinion, that as there remains nothing more at present to do in this particular, this inquiry may be suspended, and the documents relating to it kept as long as may be thought expedient.

(Signed) "Licentiate BASARROTE.

"*Secret Chamber*, 19th of August, 1818.

"To the Secretary of the Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition."

The above documents are extracted from those which formed the inquiry mentioned by the Fiscal. They are the least uninteresting and the most intelligible of them. They were delivered to me in Barcelona, in September 1822, by a national volunteer of that city, who having accompanied me in an expedition with which I was intrusted, had an opportunity of learning that I was the person mentioned in those documents: he placed them in my hands, in the same state he found them, on the day when the patriots of Barcelona proclaimed the constitution, liberated the prisoners from the dungeons of the inquisition of that city, and ransacked the archives of that tribunal. Among those documents I found several torn leaves, in which I discovered, that the examination of the scars, and other marks of my body, formed a part of the private instructions communicated by the *Secret Chamber* to its dependants.

Note E, page 152.

Literal copy of the Passport which is still in my possession.

"Don José Garcia de Leon y Pizarro, Knight of the royal and distinguished Spanish order of Charles III. Great cross of the red eagle of Prussia, Counsellor of state and of the universal department, Superintendant-General of the roads and posts in Spain and the Indies, &c. &c. &c.

"Inasmuch as the king, whom God preserve, has been pleased to grant a passport for Brussels to Don Manuel Suelto, colonel in the royal armies of his Majesty, who is charged with a mission to the Spanish minister in the Low Countries, the captain-generals, commandants, governors, intendants, mayors, justices, and other functionaries of his dominions, are ordered, and those of foreign countries, entreated, to place

no impediment in the way of Colonel Don Manuel Sueito; but on the contrary, afford him all the favour and assistance he may need, such being the will of his majesty.

(Signed) "JOSE PIZARRO.

"Madrid, May 4th, 1818.

Note F, page 175.

Literal translation of Don Antonio Quiroga's postscript to Van Halen.

"P. S. I take the opportunity of writing a few lines to you in the letter of the Marchioness. I have just taken the command of a regiment, which is in a most brilliant state, and with which I hope shortly to give a day of glory to our country. Tell those of our friends who are residing there that * * * * * and that they may always rely upon the constancy of your *trestillo** companion at the house of the Viscountess at Jaen.

(Signed) "ANTONIO."

Note G,† page 180.

The gentleman alluded to in the text was an old Prussian counsellor, who having retired from the diplomatic career, devoted most of his time to literary pursuits, and was in the habit of taking notes of all the historical errors he found in the course of his reading. A short time after my flight from Spain he had read my name in an English newspaper, where my escape from the Inquisition was mentioned as *exemplar*, an error which he did not fail to insert in his note-book, from which he copied for me the following remarks:—"The examples of prisoners escaping from the Inquisition are doubtless very rare; but the English editor is mistaken if he supposes this the only one that ever took place. Dr. Isac Orobio de Castro, Alias Don Balthazar, professor of metaphysics and medicine in the universities of Alcala and Seville, physician to the Duke of Medina Celi, and to the royal family of Philip IV., public professor to the King of France, in the city of Toulouse, &c., contemporary of Spinoza, and born in Spain of Jewish parents, was imprisoned in the Inquisition of Madrid, where he remained many years, and suffered the torture several times, till at length he succeeded in making his escape, and taking refuge in Holland, where he died at Amsterdam in 1707. See *Israel Avenged*, London, 1770; and *History of the Jews*, by Mr. Basnage, vol. ix. p. 1047, and sequel."

Note H, page 211.

Communication of Count Nesselrode.

"SIR,

"I hasten to inform you that I have just received a note from the chief of the staff, by which I learn that his Majesty the Emperor has been pleased to admit you into his service in the rank of Major. The Prikaz of the 16th of May, which contains this nomination, states also that you are attached to the regiment of dragoons of Nijegorode, whose cantonments are at present in Kargatch, district of Sigmachak, in Georgia.

"As you will be required to join your regiment, I invite you, Sir, to present yourself to his Excellency Prince Wolkonsky, as well as to the general on duty Zakrewsky, to receive instructions relative to your departure for the place of your destination.

"Receive, Sir,

"The assurance of my perfect consideration, &c. &c.

(Signed) "NESSELRODE

"St. Petersburgh, May 21, 1819.

"To Major Van Halen."

Note I, page 279.

Literal translation of General Mina's Letter to Van Halen.

"MY MUCH ESTEEMED FRIEND,

"I have read with great pleasure your valuable letter of May the 25th, and rejoice not only at hearing you enjoy good health, but at your good fortune in obtaining such an appointment, especially in the present state of our country. I heartily congratulate you upon it, and sincerely hope that your success will not end there, for I always feel a lively interest in the welfare of my friends. Much has been said here of your brilliant appointment. I have not been deceived in the good opinion I

* Ombre.

† The references to this and the following note at pages 180 and 211 have been accidentally omitted

had formed of the talent of Señor Sureda,* who I doubt not gave you a full account of our conversations. I return you a thousand thanks for your present of the curious boots. Indeed, every time I put them on I imagine myself half a Mussulman.

"All our friends here feel greatly obliged by your remembrances, and have desired me to express the same to you, still relying on your friendship.

"Believe me always yours most affectionately,

"Paris, Rue d'Artois, July 19th, 1819." "FRANCISCO ESPOZ Y MINA.

Note K, page 357.

"Madrid, March 20th, 1820.

"MY BELOVED SON,

"The enclosed are two proclamations and two decrees of our Sovereign that will fill your heart with joy, as they remove every obstacle that kept you from the arms of your parents, who are anxious to embrace you. God bless you, my son, and may He guide you in safety to the country of your birth, as is the devout wish of your affectionate father!"

The documents above alluded to are the two well-known Decrees of Ferdinand dated the 8th and 9th of March, his Manifesto to the Spanish nation, and the Infante Don Carlos' Proclamation to the national army on his being elected generalissimo.

The next letter was dated London, March 28th, 1820, and ran thus—"Hasten to our arms, my dear namesake, for we have now recovered country, honour, life, and liberty—hasten away then—give your thanks to that government—and let us meet at Madrid.—I shall be there on the anniversary of the 2d of May.—Shall we see you on St. John's day?—Let me know of it previously.—Adieu, Adieu till we meet.—JUAN ANTONIO YANDIOLA."

The following letter, dated Petersburgh, 29th of May, 1820, is from Prince Andrew Galitzin.

"MY DEAREST FRIEND,

"I have so many interesting things to communicate to you that I scarcely know how to begin. Leaving however my own affairs till the last, I will in the first instance give you some official intelligence respecting your native country. The history of nations records no revolution more spontaneously and peaceably effected than that of Spain. The whole people seem to have been actuated but by one will, to have uttered but one voice; and the King, impressed with the necessity of yielding to the general wish, has accepted the constitution of the Cortes. You may now safely send the Inquisition to the d—l.

"With respect to T——f and his secretary, who would make us believe that Ferdinand was beloved by the whole people, who were ready to sacrifice themselves for him, I am at a loss to know whether they still are of the same opinion.

"I have frequently heard of you, and know that you are in high favour with the general-in-chief, who is perfectly satisfied with your conduct. I am rejoiced at this, nor can I help now and then showing to my and your enemies (for we have not a few) some exultation at your own and your country's success. Your situation has now taken a different turn; for in the month of September† you will be at liberty to return to your *cara patria*, and partake again of the *olla podrida*.

"Meantime you will continue in the Russian service near a general whose high merit is so universally acknowledged. You have not told us any thing of your intimacy with him, nor the nature of your present occupations. How do you like this provisional country of yours? Have you made many friends? I am anxious to hear from you. Write without delay. How many events interesting to both you and myself have happened since we parted! You must have seen by the Prikaz that I have been appointed colonel, &c., though I ought to have informed you of it myself, &c. &c. &c.

The rest of the letters which I received at the same time from my friends at St. Petersburgh spoke of the political changes of Spain in the same strain of approbation as the above; some indeed in terms of the highest enthusiasm and others, while they offered reflections replete with feeling and good sense, proved to me that the principles of liberty were thoroughly understood by the writers.

Note L, page 367.

Je certifie que le Major du Régiment des dragons de Niznei-Nowgorod Van Halen, ayant demandé d'être employé à l'expedition contre le puissant Khan de Kasy-

* The bearer of the boots which V. H. sent to General Mina.

† The only period in the year when the Russian officers in active service can demand their discharge.

koumyk, dont la province située dans les montagnes du Caucase a été soumise à la Russie, s'est distingué par sa valeur à la tête d'une partie de l'infanterie qui en levant les retranchemens de l'ennemi a contribué à la défaite totale de son armée.—En foi de quoi je signe le présent, et pose le sceau de mes armes.

Tiflis, le 1r Octobre, l'Année 1820.

De Sa Majesté mon très-Gracieux Souverain, Général en Chef, commandant le corps d'armée du Caucase, Gouverneur Général de la Georgie, et des Gouvernements du Caucase et d'Astracan, Commandant en Chef de la Flotte dans la mer Caspienne, et Chevalier de plusieurs ordres tant de Russie que de Puissances Etrangères. YERMOLOW.

Note M, page 371.

"MOST EXCELLENT SIR,

"The orders lately given respecting the custody of my person, and the notification I have just received for my immediate departure, without its being however accompanied by the most indispensable document for my journey, compel me to call your Excellency's attention to the following facts.

"On the day of my arrival at Leopold I had the honour of placing in your hands a letter which I addressed to the Spanish Charge d'Affaires at Vienna requesting to be furnished with a passport for my native country. From that moment and by that act I cannot be considered in any other light than as a subject of that independent nation, who is in no way bound to obey orders derogatory to the honour of his country, and emanating from a government which has no right to exercise any authority over him.

"Two-and-thirty days have now elapsed since I first set foot on the territory of this empire; and though it appears that orders have been transmitted to your Excellency respecting me, they have been unaccompanied by the passport I have demanded, or even by an answer to the above mentioned letter. What am I to infer from this—but that it is the intention of the Austrian government to keep me in this country as a state-prisoner, prevented from holding any communication with my friends?

"General! as a subject of a free monarch, and a member of an independent nation, *I solemnly protest* against any arbitrary measure that may be dictated without the knowledge or authority of the representative of his Catholic Majesty residing in the capital of this empire; and I further declare that I will not subscribe to any thing that may be opposed to the principles that dictate this protest.

"Your Excellency is well aware that I have never failed in the respect due to the authorities; and will I hope do me the justice to believe, that in troubling you with these observations I have no other object in view than to obtain the justice to which I am entitled.

"I have the honour to be, &c. &c.
(Signed) "V. H.

"Leopold, January 15th, 1821.

"To his Excellency Prince de Reuss Plauen,
commandant-in-chief of the Austrian army
in Galitcia."

Answer to the above.

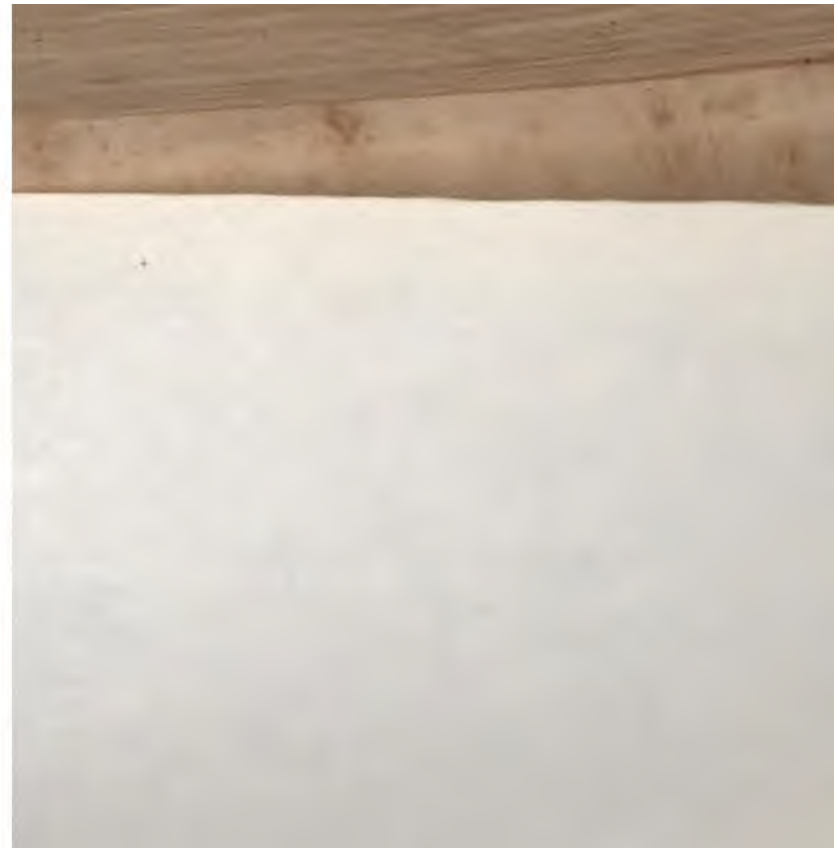
"MR. VAN HALEN,

"Sir,—It is not in my power to return any other answer to your letter, but that the government of this province have received positive orders as to the manner of conducting themselves towards you, and that I have myself received instructions to deliver your person to the civil authority of this realm, orders which are not in my power to countermand. In every thing else, I have the honour to be, &c. &c.
(Signed) "PRINCE HENRY XV. of Reuss Plauen.
commandant-general, &c. &c.

"Leopold, January 15th."

Note N, page 372.

(*Certificate.*)

"The Spaniard Van Halen, who has served in the Russian army as major of dragoons, has signed in this office of the imperial and royal police, the *reverse* of *non amplius redeundo*, and bound himself never to return to the royal and imperial states of Austria.—Given in the direction of the I. and R. police under my seal, JOSEPH HOCH, counsellor of the I. and R. government, director of police.

"Lintz, February 1st, 1821."